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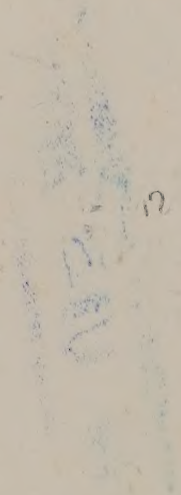

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DESPATCHES
FROM PARIS
1784-1790

SELECTED AND EDITED FROM THE
FOREIGN OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE

BY

OSCAR BROWNING
M.A., V-P. R. Hist. S.

SB. 21565

VOLUME II
(1788–1790)

CAMDEN THIRD SERIES
VOL. XIX

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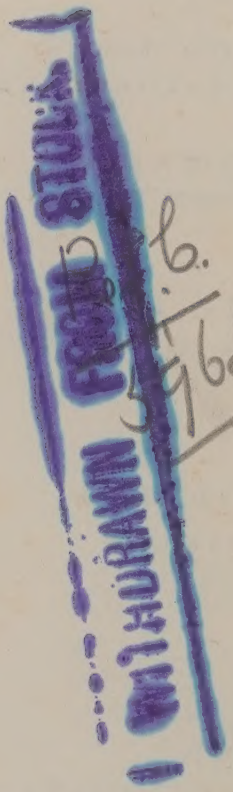

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PREFACE

I was unable to write a preface to the first volume of these despatches in consequence of a severe illness. I am now writing only a very scanty preface for a different reason. The conditions for the publication of this series demand that each volume shall not contain more than a certain number of pages, and if the whole of these despatches had been printed without omission, the allotted number of pages would have been exceeded. It, therefore, became necessary to leave out some of the less important documents, and, for a stronger reason, to reduce the preface and the notes to the scantiest dimensions. It is surely more important to give to the public as many of these valuable state papers as possible, than to print any observations which the Editor might have to make upon them. The despatches are, of themselves, of such very high interest and importance, that they are likely to receive much attention, and there is no call for me to point out to the historical scholars, for whose immediate benefit they are published, in what direction their attention should be turned.

These despatches, taken together with those of Lord Gower, which were published for me by the Pitt Press, many years ago, at the instigation of my friend, M. Hippolyte Taine, form a complete account, subject to the above exigencies, of our diplomatic relations with France, from the accession of the younger Pitt to power in 1784, to the rupture of those relations when they had become impossible. To make the story complete, it is necessary to study the despatches of William Eden, which concern the Treaty of Commerce in 1786 and the French disclaimer of negotiations for an

alliance with Holland in 1787. These will be found in the "Life and Letters of William Eden", published by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and are also treated of in a volume of my own, entitled "The Flight to Varennes and other Essays".

The chief interest in the history of these relations lies in the attitude of Pitt towards a friendly understanding with France. There can, I think, be no doubt that Pitt had, from the very first, a strong, and even a passionate desire for a friendship with France, and that he disliked and even despised the girding jealousy and suspicion which rankled in the mind of his Foreign Secretary, as it did in the hearts of most English statesmen. To prove this, and it would be possible to prove it, would require the publication of many more documents, and the expenditure of considerable labour. The subject has been much discussed in America, and some young historians from that country are of opinion that Pitt, from the very first, desired war with France, a judgement which appears to me opposed to all the evidence which we possess on the subject. My own views on this question have been fully set forth in the chapter on the Foreign Policy of Pitt, which I contributed to the Revolution Volume of the Cambridge Modern History, and a fairly complete list of Authorities will be found in the bibliography attached to it. Other evidence exists in the Windham Papers, recently made accessible to students in the British Museum. Our conclusion must be that William Pitt was, in dignity, in foresight, in breadth of view, and in unflinching courage, if not the greatest, at least one of the greatest statesmen, who ever swayed the destinies of England, and the more closely his career is studied, the more clearly will this be shown. That a boy in age should have possessed and exercised these qualities in such a position, is a unique phenomenon in history, and speaks eloquently for the education which an English University was able, if not to give at least not to hinder, in those days. It is unfortunate that the unsullied splendour of the first ten years of his ministry should have been dimmed by its later course, when he had to deal with a disastrous war, which he had done everything to avoid, and nothing to provoke, with a sovereign gradually becoming more and more insane, with

narrow-minded and pedantic colleagues, with an opposition, in many ways unscrupulous and unpatriotic, under the influence of a Prince of Wales, to whom it is difficult to attribute a single virtue. We may infer from the Windham correspondence that Pitt, if left to himself, would have listened to Bonaparte's proposals for peace in 1800, and would not have violated the treaty of Amiens in 1803.

These documents have been printed as far as possible word for word from the originals in the Record Office, with all their misspellings and inaccuracies, often the result of carelessness and ignorance. It may be a question to what extent documents in the handwriting of a subordinate clerk should be treated with the same respect as is due to autographs of principals. It might be urged that modern state papers may receive from their Editor the corrections which the original scribe would have made if he had known better, or taken more pains, but it is dangerous to tamper with a written text, and it has been thought better to reproduce this, verbatim, and to make certain corrections in the index.

Again, it is easy to over-rate the historical importance of such documents as these. A conscientious historian is tempted to think that if he finds a statement made by a competent person in a contemporary document, it must necessarily be true, or at least of high importance. Experience corrects this view. Those who live in the midst of events have often far less real understanding of them than those who contemplate them from a distance. The murderers of Julius Cæsar, and those who saw him fall, had little idea that they were present at what is, perhaps, the most important event which ever took place in the history of the world. The historian of to-day will recognize that the truth of history is to be found, not so much in the laborious study of documents, as in the skill with which he can penetrate the psychology of those who made history. The only key to Pitt's political action is the psychology of Pitt, and not the words which he may have written or spoken in the successive epochs of his career. When the political historian becomes weary of the mass of written evidence with which he is encumbered, and despairs of cutting his way through a tangled wilderness of assertion and denial, he will recognize with relief, that his difficulties

will disappear, if he can clearly comprehend the character of the man whose actions he is endeavouring to narrate. When this is done, everything falls into order. To say that it is difficult to do this, is to assert that only a few people are competent to be historians. No one is competent to write the history of Napoleon, unless he has first formed a clear conception of the psychological character of that marvellous man.

The publication of these despatches will, at least, serve to introduce us to Daniel Hailes, one of the most competent and far-sighted diplomats of the eighteenth century, one of the few men who realized the importance, and predicted the results of the momentous events which preceded the Revolution. From Paris, he went to Poland, and his despatches from that country, which refer to its third partition, are of the highest value, and ought to be published.

The production of this volume would have been impossible without the facilities given to the Editor by the courtesy of the Council of the Royal Historical Society, to whom is due whatever value these pages may possess. The documents, copied for me years ago, when I was contemplating a history of the Foreign Policy of Pitt, a book, which the avocations of a University teacher would never permit me to write, were offered by me for publication to the Cambridge University Press, but were declined by the Syndicate, on the ground that they were not of sufficient public interest to warrant their acceptance. Hospitality has now been accorded to them by the Royal Historical Society, and for this the thanks of historical students are due to its Council and its officers.

DESPATCHES FROM PARIS

JAN.-DEC. 1788

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1788

1. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
3 Jan. 1788.

...The Contents of your Lordship's Despatch of the 18th ult. have been frequently a subject of conversation between the Minister and me :

I have not at present any thing further to communicate to your Lordship upon that point :—

I can only repeat, what has already been observed to your Lordship, that there is an evident reserve on the part of M. de Montmorin whenever the Turkish War is mentioned.

There are no authentic accounts relative to Belgrade, but it is generally believed that the Winter's Campaign will not close without another attempt upon that important place.

Saturday is the day appointed for the conference with M. de Montmorin, who is then to give an answer to the points adverted to in your Lordship's Letter No. 5, to myself and Mr. Eden.

I am well informed that the Spanish Ambassador's language is upon all occasions uniformly amicable towards England.

It is now strongly reported that the affair of the Protestants is in a manner concluded ; the Parliament being, it is said, unanimous upon the expediency of the measure of a civil establishment for them ; and that the opposition made to the registr'ing of the Edict proceeds merely from the detention of the Duc d'Orleans and the two exiled members. A Deputation of the Parliament will wait upon the King to-morrow at Versailles to present fresh supplications in favour of the exiled members...

2. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
6 Jan. 1788.

...On Friday Deputies from the States of Brittany had the honor of being presented to His Majesty, when the Bishop of Dol (de Hercé) as Head of the Deputation, addressed His Majesty to explain the causes which made it impossible for that Province to increase the Subsidies paid to Government, and which were owing to the great injury it had sustained by the Commercial Treaty with England, and to the permission granted to the Americans by the Maréchal de Castries, when Minister, to supply the Antilles (or French Caribbee Islands) with Stores and provisions in their own Bottoms, a commerce that had before been carried on solely from the Ports of Brittany, whereby the industrious and laborious inhabitants of that Province have been greatly distressed. The Bishop having thus performed the immediate object of his Mission, proceeded to expostulate with His Majesty, in very familiar terms, upon the fatal consequences that might ensue if the Protestants should, by the Edict now under the consideration of the Parliament, obtain a civil establishment. He said that His Majesty, by consenting that such a Proposition should be confirmed and pass into a Law, would violate His Coronation Oath, and that such a measure would infallibly be a source of civil dissensions, and commotions in His Kingdom.

His Majesty heard this extraordinary discourse to the end with great seeming composure, but, a few hours after, the Bishop received an Order to repair immediately to his Diocese, where it is thought not unlikely that he may be obliged to remain for the remainder of his Life.

The Parliament of Paris met yesterday and passed very strong resolutions against the abuse of Lettres de Cachet, and their deliberations thereon are to be resumed in the course of a few days...

3. DORSET AND EDEN TO CARMARTHEN.
6 Jan. 1788.

We had a long conference yesterday by appointment with M. de

Montmorin at Versailles upon the several subjects of your Lordship's Dispatch No. 5.

The French Minister opened the business with expression of dissatisfaction : He said that England was in the habit of assuming a tone of complaint and distrust, and that such a tone was at present better suited to France, whether she adverted to the late transactions in Holland, or to those in the several German Courts; that the measures of this Country respecting the United Provinces had been just and reasonable ; that she had materially assisted them in the Pacification with us, that she had nearly risked a War for their protection in the disputes with the Emperor, and had incurred great expenses on that occasion ; that the Alliance was a natural return to such treatment, and that, if it were true, which might be disputed, that the influence of France in the United Provinces was only useful to Her in furnishing the means of annoying Great Britain, the same proposition might be stated in some degree respecting the influence of Great Britain in the Provinces as tending to injure France :—that the insinuation of the French Ministers being engaged in negotiations with other Courts, contradictory to the language which they are holding towards us, was so vague that it proved nothing but a disposition either to feel or to express jealousies. And lastly (which he expressed with a tone of good humour) that, when we accused him of reserve on the Turkish Business, we ought at least to ask him questions before we complained of His not giving answers, and that in the mean time, He might with equal justice complain of our reserves.

When we had maintained our Instructions on these several points with such reasonings as occurred to us, the Conference went in to some discussions and explanations which we conceive to be of considerable importance.

With respect to the Naval Peace Establishment of France, M. de Montmorin said that he was far from thinking with us that the Communications which He had made to us on that Subject were little calculated to promote the removal of jealousies.

Instead of maintaining here a force upon an indefinite Establishment, and which might incessantly afford us grounds of suspicion,

it was His wish to have it precisely understood that France had only 12 Ships of the Line in the Ports upon the mouth of the Channel and the Atlantic, and four in the Mediterranean : that he had made no objection to our statement of 9600 Sailors in employment on the 1st January 1787 : that in return He had stated only 3100 as employed by France, and would tell us now without reserve that the number to be maintained would not exceed 1800. On this subject He said that He had received accounts of our disarming very slowly ; He did not however express any material doubts of our good-faith and pacific views ; but He added that any very nice discussion of the proportionable Peace-Establishment of either Country would be of little utility : whatever system might be stated and avowed, the degree of real preparation would be according to the probable occasions of calling into action the Naval force of the two Powers : the great and essential business therefore was to establish a sense of cordiality and confidence between them and with that view He would now meet completely and specifically the points of uneasiness on which we had confined ourselves to general and indefinite insinuations.

First—as to the late reports which had been circulated not only in the English News-papers, but by the English Ministers in every Court of Europe, that France is negotiating with other Powers, respecting the Turkish business, in a line of Policy contrary to that which he holds out to us ; He said that France had long had a connection and degree of confidence with the Court of Vienna, and for some time has also had a friendly communication with that of Petersburg : but that France had used these means of access (such as they were) solely for the purpose of arranging a Peace for the Turks with as few sacrifices as possible whenever the latter should be disposed to listen to terms of accommodation : but further than this He positively and repeatedly denied the having taken any steps whatever, and as a proof of it He told us that at this hour He is ignorant of the views and plans of the Imperial Courts in the business, either jointly or separately.

He took this occasion to revert to the unfriendly conduct respecting France which he accuses Sir Robert Ainslie of holding at

the Porte notwithstanding the late disavowal of such conduct made by His Majesty's Ministers.

Before we dismiss this Subject, we think it right to remark that, tho' the French Minister was very explicit in denying any concert whatever as to the Turkish business with the Imperial Courts, He appeared to avoid any expression or intimation of a wish to settle any joint line of conduct with His Majesty's Ministers; and even when the probability of the Empress sending a fleet from the Baltic to the Mediterranean and the necessity of their seeking repairs and refreshments either in English, French or Spanish Ports was incidentally mentioned, He declined risquing any opinion thereon, and professed not to know with certainty whether any Ships were to be sent: He even added that no mention of such preparations had yet been made by Mons. de Segur.

Secondly—With respect to our Interests in the East-Indies, He specifically and positively declared that France had no views whatever that could give us uneasiness. Some allusion being made to the conduct of Persons calling themselves French agents in the Courts of the Indian Princes, and to the expected arrival of the Embassy for Tippoo Saib, He said that as to the first He knew nothing and had heard no particulars: and as to the Mission from Tippoo, it might be expected soon to arrive, but that He was hitherto quite uninformed of its object.

Lastly.—As to Holland, in Answer to our expressions that we hoped we might inform your Lordship that the System lately pursued in that Quarter was completely abandoned, He assured us, without ill-humour, and decidedly, that it *is*—As we had nothing further to state, the Conversation closed here: Mons. de Montmorin informed us that He should send the substance of it to Mons. Barthelemy, by whom it will probably be restated to your Lordship.

P. S. Where mention is made of the Russian fleet, it ought to have been added that M. de Montmorin observed there was sufficient time to come to a further explanation upon that business, as the Ships could not take their departure from the Baltic before the beginning of May at soonest.

A Vessel arrived at Brest a few days ago from the Isle of France which brought accounts that the Ambassador from Tippoo Saib had intended to sail in a very short time.

4. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
10 Jan. 1788.

...I cannot help observing to your Lordship upon this occasion that, notwithstanding M. de Montmorin has at different times maintained a degree of reserve in with-holding a free communication of the views of His Most Christian Majesty in regard to the Turkish War, that reserve does not seem to be of a nature not to be done away provided an explicit explanation was conveyed with respect to the foundation of our mistrust that France has been employed in forming Alliances with the two Imperial Courts with a view to annoy Great Britain and to disturb her late connections with Prussia and Holland.

The proceedings of the different Parliaments in a manner wholly engrosses the attention of the Principal Minister.

It is thought that the Parliaments of Bordeaux will very soon feel the effects of the king's displeasure : that Body still continues to refuse their assent to the registering of the Edict respecting the Establishment of Provincial Assemblies : They are reported also to have passed some strong resolutions against the abuses attributed to the too great facility in obtaining Lettres de Cachet which are declared by them to be contrary to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.

I send your Lordship herewith the Arrêt du Parlement de Dauphiné, the principles of which on the subject of Provincial Assemblies, seem to coincide entirely with those of the Parliament of Bordeaux. Subjoined to the Arrêt are the Proceedings of the Parliament of Paris respecting the Lettres de Cachet. So long as these difficulties continue it is not probable that the Duc d'Orleans and the two Magistrates will be permitted to return to Paris ; and the less likely as the Parliament declares " qu'il ne *peut ni ne doit recourir à la bonté du Roi* pour obtenir la liberté of Monsgr. le Duc d'Orleans, et de Messrs. Fréteau and Sabatien. "

Many people are of opinion that if His Most Christian Majesty should think proper to re-instate the Chancellor Maupeou, whose vigorous measures in the last Reign are yet fresh in the minds of everybody, it would be the readiest means of quieting the fermentation which at present distracts the Parliament.

A Council of Legislation is to be established which will be composed of six of the most eminent Lawyers, who are to examine into, and to report their observations upon the Code of the Civil and Criminal Laws of the Kingdom.

I am under the necessity of deferring till next week transmitting to your Lordship, the French Laws respecting counterfeit Coins etc, the person whom I employed to procure copies of this having disappointed me.

No intelligence relative to Belgrade has been received here since I last wrote to your Lordship.

Accounts from Cherbourg, which may be depended on, mention that considerable damage had been done to some of the Cones there by the late tempestuous weather :—

. . . . . .

P. S. The Pamphlet herewith inclosed proposing a new Plan for the Military establishment of France, was printed by permission, and meets with great approbation from those who have read it.

I send your Lordship an Extrait du Parlement de Normandie, sur l'Edit des Vingtiêmes.

The Affair of the East India Company continues still in a state of indecision and a particular commission it is said is or will be shortly named for the purpose of enquiring more nearly into the merits of the case.

5. Dorset to Carmarthen.
17 Jan. 1788.

I received your Lordship's last Dispatch No. 1. addressed jointly to me and Mr. Eden, on Tuesday morning at Versailles, when, Mr. Eden not being there, I saw M. de Montmorin alone, and as your Lordship expresses a wish that the subject of your

Letter should be stated to the French Minister without reserve, I did not hesitate to read to him the whole of it.

The first impression that appeared to be excited in him, upon hearing the contents of the Letter, was evidently that of dissatisfaction, for he expressed a great degree of surprize at the conduct of Our Court, which, He observed, shewed itself in continual suspicions and jealousies, and that such examples might well justify any apparent reserve on the part of the French Court.

M. de Montmorin however assured me that His Most Christian Majesty's Servants had no design nor wish to prejudice our Interests in any Part of the World whatever, and that the measures that have been pursued and are at this time employed respecting the Imperial Courts were adopted and are continued with no other view but first to preserve and now to restore Peace in that Quarter : that all surmises to the contrary, and for such He could not feel himself accountable, were therefore totally groundless. But, as to the Russian fleet, He had no knowledge, Official nor Private, of the degree of forwardness in which it is, nor of the time fixed for its departure from Cronstadt, nor even of its destination : that of course nothing regarding that fleet can have been in agitation here.

M. de Montmorin in his conversation held nearly the same language as before, when I and Mr. Eden entered very fully upon these subjects in our conference with him, the result of which we communicated to your Lordship, in our despatch No. 6 (see No. 3); tho' upon the present occasion he certainly discussed the matter with less composure than on the former one.

He acknowledged that it is the wish as it is the Interest of France to preserve the Ottoman Empire in Europe ; which perhaps may not be brought about without some sacrifices on the part of the Turks, but He trusted that they would not be such as could affect the Commercial Interests of France in the Levant Trade which he felt and acknowledged to be of very great importance to Her :—that under this avowed consideration, added to the general wish of His Most Christian Majesty for Peace, He conceived there could not remain any shadow of suspicion that the

measures in which France is now engaged can have any other object than what has been already declared.

M. de Montmorin adverted repeatedly and with much show of dissatisfaction to the conduct of Our Minister at the Porte and even went so far as to say that, if we are seriously anxious to engage the confidence of the French Court, we ought to begin with giving some public marks of our disapprobation of Sir Robert Ainslie, and of our disavowal of the measures he pursued, by which, He (M. de Montmorin) insisted, the Turks have been stirred up to engage in a War with Russia: of this He said He was in possession of proofs too strong to admit of any doubts of their authenticity. The Minister added that, although He was induced to observe to me that we could have no right to put any questions relative to the negotiations of France with the Two Imperial Courts, so long as she shewed no disposition to molest us in our negotiations with Russia and the States of Holland, nevertheless, if England has any plan to propose, His Court will be found ready to listen to it.

Such, My Lord, was the general tenor of M. de Montmorin's conversation which as I have before remarked was certainly less conciliatory than on the previous, and on other former occasions, but, as He has requested to have the perusal of your Lordship's last Dispatch, an Extract of which I shall accordingly send him, it may be hoped that, when I see him next Saturday, I may find Him more disposed to give a favourable attention to such amicable overtures as we may think proper to propose.—

I am inclined to suspect that this Court is yet sore in regard to the last transactions in Holland, and that a greater length of time may be necessary to wear away the impression which they occasioned, so that France may have in part forgot or shall be better reconciled to that event; for I am very much of opinion that the reserve we are now experiencing in the French Minister, and of which we have taken notice, proceeds more from what has lately passed in Holland, and from what is known or believed to have passed at Constantinople, than from any regular system that is adopted by France of connecting herself with the Imperial Courts with a view to counteract the Interests of Great Britain.

6. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
17 Jan. 1788.

...The Parliament has as yet come to no decision in regard to the Edict respecting the Protestants. On Monday last the Court came to a resolution to recommend to His Majesty that all non-Catholics whatsoever shall be excluded from holding Places under Government and Commissioners were named to draw up a remonstrance to that effect.

It is said that the Duc d'Orleans has written to the President of the Parliament to desire, that the subject of his exile may no longer form a part of the Deliberations of the Court.

Many people imagine that a resolution was taken at one time, again to banish the Parliament of Paris on account of its spirited resolutions in regard to Lettres de Cachet, and it is even thought that His Majesty had really signed the Order, but that the Archbishop of Thoulouse on maturer deliberation thought it best still further to temporize with that Body.

The Parliament will meet to-morrow upon the further consideration of the Protestants.

. . . . . .

7. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
24 Jan. 1788.

...The proceedings of the Parliament are all printed, and I have the honor to send them herewith inclosed—*Les Remonstrances du Parliament concernant les Non-Catholiques* is extremely well drawn up. The King's answer to them will be given to-morrow, and it is expected that they will be agreed to by His Majesty and the Ministry, after which this troublesome Business will be immediately terminated.

The Archbishop of Paris with Monsieur d'Eprêsmenil and five others have protested against the passing of the Edict in favor of the Protestants on which occasion it is remarked that there are at least *seven Protestants* in the Parliament.

There are no accounts whatever from Belgrade. The Emperor

had not left Vienna on the 10th Inst. There is a report that a Body of 12,000 Austrians had been attacked in Croatia and totally defeated by 20,000 Turks, but Mons. de Merci has not heard anything of it by any of his latest Letters; it is therefore to be supposed that the whole is without foundation.

...The last Letters from Constantinople mention that the Internuncio was still at Liberty in that City; of course no formal Declaration of War had taken place between the Porte and His Imperial Majesty...

8. Dorset to Carmarthen.
31 Jan. 1788.

...The dismission of the Reis Effendi from his Office is likely to create a change of System in the Affairs of the Porte; that Minister in conjunction with the Grand Vizier, is supposed to have been one of the chief promoters of the present War. His Successor is a Creature of the Captain Pacha, who still continues to possess the favour and good opinion of the Grand Signor.

It is no difficult matter to guess *by what influence* the Captain Pacha is guided, and if the same influence should prevail so as to effect the deposition of the Grand Vizier, the Divan may easily be prevailed upon to listen to terms of accommodation with the Empress of Russia.

The Captain Pacha, on his return from Egypt, was obliged to make a shew of approving the violent proceedings of the Divan, who acted under the influence of the Grand Vizier and the late Reis Effendi; but the dismission of the latter great Officer of State plainly evinces the Pacha's different Sentiments, and it is not improbable that in a short time an account will be received of the deposition of the Grand Vizier himself, if he persists in his support of measures which bid fair to draw on the destruction of the Turkish Empire in Europe.

Mons. de Montmorin's last Letters from Constantinople are dated the 28th of December.

. . . . . .

The late disturbance at Brussels is considered here as a matter of small importance.

The affair of the Protestants is at last almost concluded, and I send your Lordship the King's Answer to the last Remonstrance of the Parliament of Paris, and also the Edict which passed on Tuesday last by a Majority of above eighty votes to twenty six ; Six members only seceded.

I had hopes of being able to send your Lordship an exact state of the proceedings of the Provincial Assemblies, but I find it impossible to obtain any correct account of them : it may however be relied on that several of the most wealthy Provinces have consented to pay into the Royal Treasury a larger sum than they have hitherto done, in order to get rid of the burthensome Tax of the second Vingtiême : the less opulent Provinces have declared their inability to pay what is now demanded of them, so that upon the whole the Royal Revenue will not be much benefited by this new mode : the Administration of those Provinces remains accordingly yet to be settled by Government.

The long banishment of the Parliament of Bordeaux has caused a great deal of uneasiness amongst the Inhabitants of that Place, owing to the total stop that it has occasioned to all judicial proceedings there : the Populace last week expressed their discontents in a very clamorous manner, insomuch that M. de Fumel, the commanding Officer thought it expedient to apply to Government for some Troops to be sent to his assistance.

I have not learnt what steps Government have taken in consequence.

9. Dorset to Carmarthen.
7 Feb. 1788.

The result of the Deliberations of the Council of War is expected to be made public in the course of a few days. It is reported that the Gardes du Corps, and likewise the Gens d'Armerie, are to be reduced one half ; the latter, commanded by the Maréchal de Castries, consists at present of eight Squadrons, and the reduction of them will certainly take place, but that of the Gardes du Corps is, I understand, not absolutely decided upon, the commanding Officers of that Corps, the Prince de Poix, Duc de Guiche, Duc

d'Ayien and the Duc de Villeroy, endeavouring to have this intended innovation set aside.

It is said that the standing Army of France, for the interior Service and defence of the Frontiers, is to consist of an hundred thousand Infantry, and thirty eight thousand horse, for the Colonies and other foreign possessions thirty thousand Men : of these several numbers I cannot speak positively, for, so great has been the secrecy observed by the Members of the Council-of-War that nothing certain is known ; the Statement given above is Collected from the hints that at different times have been occasionally dropped.

The connection between this Court and Vienna seems to gain ground and I am inclined to suspect that insinuations have been thrown out, with a view of their being conveyed to Berlin, of a nature to induce that Cabinet to adopt a system of politics less hostile to the Court of Vienna, than that which His Prussian Majesty has lately manifested.

It is whispered that an offer was made by this Court to the Emperor of twelve thousand men in the neighbourhood of Lisle, had the late disturbances at Brussels required such assistance. The Parliament will meet to morrow to take into consideration ' les Lettres de Cachet. '

Most of the other principal Parliaments are preparing Remonstrances against the Abuse, supposed to have been made, of Lettres de Cachet and likewise supplications on behalf of the Duc d'Orleans and the two Magistrates.

10. Dorset to Carmarthen.
14 Feb. 1788.

It is now understood that the whole of the Gens D'Armerie is to be reformed instead of the half of that Corps, as mentioned in my Despatch No. 8 (see No 9). No decision has yet taken place respecting the Gardes du Corps....

The Council of War continues sitting, but must soon break-up as the new regulations intended for the Army must be made known early in the Spring in order to their being put into execution this

year, and for that purpose the commanding Officers and Colonels will be obliged to join their respective Regiments the beginning of April, instead of June, which has been usually the time appointed.

It is very much credited that there is an intention of assembling in the course of this year three separate Bodies of Troops for the purpose of forming evolutions, viz. 20,000 men at Valenciennes : 20,000 at Lisle ; and 20,000 at Givet : the project is now before His Majesty for his determination thereon....

11. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
21 Feb. 1788.

...A copy of His Imperial Majesty's Declaration of War against the Turks arrived at Versailles last Monday ; and an account was at the same time received that the most active measures were in consequence carrying on at Vienna to prosecute the War with vigour in conjunction with Russia.

The Declaration sets out as I am informed (for I have not been able to obtain a Copy of it) with lamenting that the determined resolution of the Divan to persist in measures so hostile and offensive to the Empress of Russia, the Friend and Ally of His Imperial Majesty, has obliged him to join His efforts to Her's for the purpose of repelling by their united forces the unjustifiable attack that is made upon the Russian Dominions.

This important intelligence is supposed to have reached Constantinople the 9th of this month.

The Ministerial language held here upon the subject is, that, before any hopes of re-establishing Peace between the contending Powers can be entertained, a considerable change both as to men and measures must take place at Constantinople, and that the dismission of the Grand Vizier, to whom chiefly is attributable the rupture with Russia, is the first step to be wished for ; though at the same time it is thought that it may be necessary to wait till some decisive advantage over the Turks shall favour such a change by impressing that People with a desire from necessity of an accommodation with the Two Imperial Courts.

I am inclined to believe that, if the Instructions, with which the

French Ambassador at the Porte is furnished, should fail of producing a change in the measures at this time pursuing by the Ottoman Ministry, this Court would notwithstanding rather prefer the waiting for events, than urge its interference any further for the present. It may be depended upon that the Emperor's Declaration was not made without the fullest approbation having been signified by the Cabinet of Versailles.

Upon the whole, from what I have been able to collect, for I did not think it right to press M. de Montmorin upon the subject, and his language continues to be as usual very general, it may be inferred that it is the intention of this Court to remain in a kind of neutral reserve, both as to conduct and discourse, with respect to the Turkish War ; such a kind of Policy seeming best suited to the present situation of the domestic distresses of France, and giving opportunity for observing more distinctly what probability may appear of the success of the Imperialists.

His Imperial Majesty will leave Vienna in a few days to join His Army, but will return to that Capital before He opens the Campaign.

The Parliament has not yet waited upon His Majesty: that Body is at this moment employed upon two material objects; the Lettres de Cachet, and a reform of the Penal Code : With respect to the latter, it has been resolved that, in all capital criminal Cases, a delay of thirty days is to take place, to be reckoned from the date of the sentence ; and no Execution is to be proceeded to 'till the expiration of that time.

The intention is, no doubt, to give the Sovereign an opportunity of taking cognizance of all capital cases of a criminal nature ; matters to which he must hitherto have been a stranger ; for Execution has in general in the Provinces been used to follow immediately upon the Sentences of the Parliament and without any signatures of the King.

The Commissaries, named by the Parliament for the drawing up the Remonstrances against the Lettres de Cachet have already met two or three times, and in all probability in the course of next week they will be ready for presentation at Versailles :—Much pains are taking in the digesting them...

12. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
6 March 1788.

...The Public are now expecting with much impatience that Publication that is to state the Receipts and Expenditures of the last year, and also the result of the Deliberations of the Council of War: the former will probably from necessity be kept back for some time, but the latter must soon appear, perhaps not later than the middle of next week, and is a subject which, though much discussed at present, seems to be very little understood and indeed very partially made known.

The suppression of the Gens d'Armerie is to take place immediately.

The last accounts from Vienna mention that hostilities had actually commenced between the Austrians and Turks, and the two Forts in Bosnia had been attacked, one of which was taken, but the other missed with the loss of 150 Imperialists.

Letters will probably arrive in the course of a few days from Constantinople with the particulars of the effects that the Emperor's Declaration of War produced amongst the Populace there.

A Messenger is hourly expected from Petersburg with the notification to M. de Simolin of the equipment and intended departure of the Russian Fleet.

Reports have been industriously propagated that the Court of Spain has signified the necessity there will be of refusing the admittance of any Armed Force into Her Ports, by which is meant to be conveyed that such refusal applies immediately to the Russian Fleet, but it is very well known that Spain has upon all occasions refused admittance into her great Ports to any considerable Armament of whatsoever nation, France herself not excepted.

It may be depended upon that the most perfect harmony subsists between the Court of Versailles and Madrid, as well as with that of Vienna, but however formidable this Alliance, strengthened as at this moment it is by Russia, may appear, I have no reason whatever to suspect that any plans are in agitation that are likely to produce a rupture with England, unless circumstances shall

arise to awaken the jealousies which have all along been entertained here of our having been the instigators of the precipitate conduct of the Divan in commencing Hostilities with Russia.

13. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
13 March 1788.

...Among the various reports to which the Hostilities, that have commenced between the Imperialists and the Turks, have given rise, there is one, respecting the Regiment of Pellegrini, which had gained much credit : several Letters from Vienna, dated the 22nd of February, having mentioned that the whole of that Regiment, consisting of 3,500 Men, being on its march through the Buceovine to join the Emperor's Main Army, which was posted between Peterwaradin and Foutac,[1] had been surprized in the night and massacred by a Body of seven thousand Tarters : I have however just now had the perusal of a Letter from Vienna, of the 1st inst., and of another from Warsaw of the 23rd of last month, in neither of which (though both of them are from Persons of distinction) is any mention whatever made of such an event. The intelligence from Vienna says that, in the skirmishes which had happened between the Emperor's Troops and the Turks, the former had generally had the advantage and that the migrations from the Turkish Dominions were very considerable....

The Parliament met again yesterday upon the Lettres de Cachet, it is confidently said that there is an intention to separate the Parliament of Paris into three Bodies, as its jurisdiction extends to Lyons and to Poictiers, in consequence of which a Corps of Magistrates, competent of themselves, will be obliged to take up their residence at these two Places, and that la Grande Chambre, to be assisted by the Peers of the Realm, will remain at Paris.

The idea of this new arrangement, which People imagine is submitted to His Majesty by Mons. Lemoignon, gave rise to the report of the immediate resignation of the President d'Aligre, as by such a measure that Magistrate, as well as the Parliament, would lose the greater part of his consideration and influence.

[1] Videk.

14. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
20 March 1788.

...Mons. de Montmorin has received no official accounts from Turkey of later date than January, but the last private Letters from Constantinople of the 8th and 9th of January, mention the outrageous fury of the Populace there, insomuch that none of the Foreign Ministers nor any of their Domestics, dared to make their appearance in the Streets of that City : These Letters further add that the Baron Herbert, the Imperial Internuncio, had left Constantinople clandestinely the night before the Emperor's Declaration of War was given in, and that upon the publication of it the people became very tumultuory, surrounded the French Ambassador's House and insisted upon being informed what assistance was to be expected from France.

The Court of Russia has not as yet made any formal requisition here respecting the Squadron which is to sail from the Baltic as early in May as possible. This Fleet is said to consist of fifteen Sail of the Line.

The Venetian Government has informed the Empress of Russia that, in compliance with Her Wishes, the Ports of the Republic are open to Her Fleets, but in such a manner and under such restrictions as may not induce any infraction of subsisting Treaties on the part of Venice...

There are not to be any new Regiments of Cavalry raised to supply the place of the Gens d'Armerie.

The Conseil de la Guerre cannot, it is believed, remain with its present organisation, and the Minister is now taken up with the consideration of what is to be substituted in the room of it.

A Conseil de la Marine is determined on, notwithstanding the representation of the Cte. de la Luzerne against such a measure...

Letters from Libourne mention that the Parliament of Bordeaux having received several Edicts from Versailles, amongst which were those of the Non-Catholiques and the Deux-Vingtièmes, in order to their being registered, assembled on the occasion, and after deliberations which lasted above 6 hours, decided that they could

not proceed to the registering of any thing whatever on account of the state of oppression which the Parliament in general and each member in particular still laboured under from Lettres-de-Cachet...

I send your Lordship two short Notes inclosed by which it appears that the Manufactories of Lyons and Rouen are in a very declining state ; It is a well known fact that the former of those great Trading Towns has been wholly supported by Government for these last 10 years, and that the latter has been particularly affected by the late Treaty of Commerce with Great Britain,... Petitions are daily presented to Ministry not only from Rouen but from all the trading Towns both of Picardy and Normandy....

15. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
27 March 1788.

...There has not hitherto been any Declaration of opposition made by the Spanish Court to that of Petersburg, but it is not to be supposed that Spain, with so much to protect in the Mediterranean, will remain in a defenceless State, without having any Ships at Sea, when the Russians have signified their intention of sending a Fleet thither.

I have not been able to learn what Force is meant to be ordered out from hence under the Denomination of *Escadre d'Evolution*, but should Spain also put to Sea a Squadron with the same pretext, Great Britain may reasonably take alarm, though I do not apprehend that this Court will adopt any plan that, by exciting a jealousy on our part, might eventually lead to a great increase of expense.

The Parliament is to assemble on the eighth of next month, when it is expected that the King's answer to the last Remonstrances upon the Lettres de Cachet will be taken into consideration....

16. HAILES TO CARMARTHEN.
3 April 1788.

...Since the arrival of two Couriers from Petersbourg, one to M. de Montmorin, and the other to the Russian Minister, within a short time, an idea of a nearer connexion between that court and

this seems to gain ground, although the contents of the several dispatches remain hitherto a profound secret... The conduct of His Majesty's Ministers in prohibiting British Seamen to serve on board the Transports that have been agreed to be furnished for the Empress' Service, under an idea that, in the present awakened State of Affairs in Europe, they may possibly be wanted at home, has created some degree of doubt and alarm here : however the language of M. de Montmorin continues to be of a pacific nature, and his answer to the questions that have been lately put to him on the subject of any naval Force to be sent from hence to the Mediterranean, has been, that the conduct of France in that respect will be regulated by the Steps taken by England.

The naval preparations universally understood to be carrying on in the ports of Spain, cannot fail however to occasion uneasiness ; for, exclusive of the apprehensions that must necessarily arise from any powers putting itself in a posture of hostility at this moment, France must be assured of the difficulty she will have to persuade the rest of Europe that, in the present instance, she has no influence in the counsels of His Catholic Majesty, but that Spain is acting an entirely independent part.—I have used my best endeavours to draw from M. de Simolin his sentiments upon the subject of the Spanish armaments, but in vain ; the ground seemed extremely tender, and I could only learn from him that the Empress had received the fullest assurances that nothing offensive, in any shape, was intended from that quarter.

The domestic embarrassment of this country does not appear to be diminished since the pacification of the last Autumn.

The Parliaments continue to be extremely refractory: the people at large are much dissatisfied and many individuals, reduced by the reforms from a state of opulence to necessity, do not fail to harrass the Minister with importunities and complaints.

The last Loan, which may be considered as the criterion of the Archbishop's Credit with the public, notwithstanding the very extraordinary advantages with which it is offered is, at present, below par :—But, in speaking of the influence of these untoward circumstances upon the general disposition of the French Ministers

relative to Foreign Affairs and in particular, respecting the Turkish War, I ought not to omit to recommend to your Lordship's perusal a Pamphlet lately published by M. de Volney and forwarded by the Duke of Dorset.

The whole tenor of the work strongly indicates its having been written, if not by the immediate order of Government, at least with its sanction and connivance: indeed there are some passages in it so very strong, that they must have exposed the Book (and perhaps the Author who has boldly set his name to it) to the most rigorous proscription, had not the Doctrine which it contains been, in general, approved of by the Ministry.

If I am not wrong in this notion, your Lordship will allow me to observe that, considering the great closeness and reserve which the French Cabinet has hitherto shewn concerning the Turkish War, nothing could happen more opportunely than this disclosure, tho' indirect, of its sentiments upon the subject...

Although everything tends to make it highly presumable that the wishes and principal measures of this Court are at present directed towards peace; yet there can be no doubt of its continuing to lend an ear, and that too as favourable as circumstances will admit, to the Dutch Refugees of the Patriotic faction in France. M. de Brantzen is returned and although no longer the Ambassador of his Republic, he may yet perhaps be considered as the solicitor of his party here.

M. de Berkenroode is old, inactive and inattentive to public Affairs, and by no means a match for a person whose existence, in a great measure, depends upon the utmost exertion of his abilities and address.

Madame de Champaretz a Dutch woman of an intriguing Spirit, and extremely violent against the late Revolution, receives in her House all the Refugees of the Patriot party, and it is principally there that plans are formed to circumvent the Minister and obtain his assistance in their distress: This person certainly enjoys a considerable share of credit with the Archbishop, and it is but a few days since he made her a long visit, which, from the little respect in which she is generally held, it is to be presumed could have no other object but the business of the Dutch Faction.

A Report has been circulated, though I know not on what grounds, that another Séance Royale is to be held in the Parliament on the eighth of this month, and that the Stamp-duty with new Modifications is to be again brought for registration.

The Duke of Orleans' visit to the Archbishop of Paris about 10 days ago, has been variously interpreted and much commented upon. Some pretend that the Minister offered, in the King's name, to recall him from his exile immediately, upon condition that he would make no opposition to the proceedings of Government in the Parliament of the 8th, but it is said that he expressed his desire to remain at his Seat 'till that business shall have been terminated.

Some exaggerated accounts have been received here from Vienna of the loss sustained by the Imperialists in a Sally from the Garrison of Belgrade ; but I was informed by M. de Montmorin on Tuesday that only 50 men had been killed, and that afterwards, the Turks, amounting to about 600 men, had been repulsed.

A reform of a very important nature has just taken place in the department of the Finances, although everything relative to it is not yet settled.—

The Places of the Garde du Trésor Royal, the Treasurers of the Army and Navy, the Treasurers of the Depenses Diverses and the Kings's treasurer, have all been suppressed and an entirely new and strictly economical constitution has been substituted in the room of each.

All the sums and Money belonging to the King, which, heretofore, abusively remained for great lengths of time in the hands of the several Treasurers, will hereafter be paid directly into the Trésor Royal.

Fifty thousand Livres per annum is the salary given in lieu of all Emolument and advantage whatever to each person coming under this new regulation.

17. HAILES TO CARMARTHEN.
10 April 1788.

No accounts whatever of a later date than the 25th of January

last have been received here from Constantinople; nor are there any letters from any of the states of Italy conveying intelligence from that quarter. This very extraordinary delay begins to give great uneasiness to the Ministers, and M. de Montmorin told me on Tuesday, that he was not without a good deal of Anxiety on account of M. de Choiseul Gouffier.

The great object of this Court, ever since the commencement of the War, has been to find out *the extent* of the views of their Imperial Majesties with respect to Turkey, and I understand that every means have been made use of to induce the Emperor and Empress to admit France to a participation of their counsels. As far, however, as I can learn, all the steps that have been taken for that purpose have proved fruitless, the greatest reserve has constantly been shewn, and every circumstance that could lead, in any degree, to the discovery of their designs has been witheld with the utmost Secrecy and caution.

The late Despatches from Mons. de Segur, I understand, have not been more satisfactory on that head, as they only make mention of the general assurances of the Russian Ministers that the Empress' views are entirely guided by justice, and have nothing in them of an ambitious nature.

Monsr. de Montmorin's language is conformable to them and he makes no scruple to declare it as his opinion that there exists no design of driving the Turks out of Europe.—On Tuesday there arrived two Russian Couriers, one from Petersburg who came through Denmark, and the other from the Army in the Crimea. Nothing has transpired from the Dispatches brought by the former; and we only learn by the latter that the Russian Army was in a state of inactivity at the time he left it, and that a strong report prevailed there that an insurrection had happened at Constantinople.

Monsr. de St. Priest's return to Holland is, as yet, (or at least was a few day's since) undecided upon. There is every reason to suppose that the instructions of that Ambassador will be to support and keep alive the drooping spirits of the Patriotic party; but there can be but little to apprehend that any open or strenuous

efforts will be made at present, in their favour. The Domestic difficulties of France continue to be so great, and so imperious that it is impossible that they should not have the most direct influence upon her conduct with respect to Foreign Powers, and that that conduct should not have the strongest tendency to the preservation of tranquillity in Europe.

The Parliament of Toulouse having refused to enregester the King's Letters Patent concerning the two Vingtiêmes, the Avocat Général., M. de Catalan, was directed by the Court to proceed to compulsory measures, and to enforce the registration ; but having thought proper to decline the execution of the orders he had received, he was arrested by virtue of a Lettre de Cachet, and carried to Prison.

The Procureur General on whom the commission then devolved, was, in consequence of his execution of it, ordered to be arrested, by a decree of the Parliament.

These events are much spoken of, and in consequence of the riotous manner in which the people of Toulouse conduct themselves, the Regiment of Medoc has received orders to march thither.

The Parliament of this city met on Tuesday, and the result of their deliberations was (notwithstanding the King's express order to the contrary) to remonstrate again upon the Lettres de Cachet in reply to His late Answer, and, in particular, upon the forcible abduction and imprisonment of the Avocat Général of the Parliament of Toulouse, lately annexed to that of Paris. A small and very secret Committee consisting only of the King, the Archbishop of Sens and the Garde des Sceaux has sat for some days past (or it is believed) entirely upon the affairs of the Parliament, and it is expected that some great change will shortly take place in the Constitution of those Bodies : an opinion is even entertained that nothing less than their suppression is intended.

The report that has lately been circulated here of certain language held by M. de Calonne in London on the subject of Mr. Hastings and in which he is said to have advanced that, during his administration, East India Goods to an enormous amount

had been consigned to France on that Gentleman's account, had its origin in M. de Luzerne's Dispatches :—the report having come through so respectable a channel, and having been published by the minister himself, has met with great credit here and the enemies of M. de Calone have not failed to spread about, as much as possible, to his disadvantage.

It was not 'till Tuesday last that I was enabled to give any answer to the numerous applications made to me upon the subject but having received the Morning Chronicle of the 2nd instant, in which I found an authentic disavowal of the fact, I have not scrupled to quote the paper, and I even shewed it on Tuesday to M. de Montmorin, who seemed perfectly convinced that the story had no foundation in truth.

All the members of the New Conseil de la Marine were presented at Versailles on Sunday, and we are in daily expectation of the Réglement that is to fix their establishment.

Great Preparations are making at Toulon for the reception of Tippo Said's Ambassadors.

The Dauphin has been somewhat better since his residence at Meudon. The Archbishop of Bourges has been translated to the Archbishoprick of Toulouse.

18. Hailes to Carmarthen.
10 April 1788.

Since I dispatched Lauzun this day at 3 o'clock, I have received undoubted information that a resolution was come to in Council on Sunday night, (though I understand somewhat suddenly) to send a Regiment immediately to the Isle of France. The orders of Government have already been issued to the Regiment de Walsh (Irish) to prepare for embarkation.

I shall use my best endeavours to learn if any other troops are likely to be sent to the same part of the world, and I shall not fail to communicate the particulars, if any, as early as possible. Mr. Knight, a Gentleman returning to England in haste has obligingly taken charge of this letter.

19. HAILES TO CARMARTHEN.
17 April 1788.

Advices have at last been received from Constantinople, and I learn from the Minister that M. de Herbert the Emperor's Internuncio had left that city with the permission of the Turkish Government.—The reports that have been fabricated of an insurrection and the danger to which M. de Choiseul Gouffier had been exposed from the populace, are entirely without foundation.

The Russian officer who lately arrived here with despatches for the Empress's Minister, brings also an invitation to this Court to allow French Officers to serve in the Russian Army. I understand that the desire of the Empress is complied with in this respect, and that leave will be granted to them, under a general permission to travel.

Paul Jones too has, in consequence of the offers that have been made to him, engaged to serve in her Imperial Majesty's Fleet.

Letters from Toulouse mention that the officer who executed the orders of the Court, by delivering a Lettre de Cachet to the Advocate General of the Parliament of that City, was so ill received, on his return by the whole of the Corps to which he belongs, that it is thought he will shortly be obliged to give up his commission.

The behavior of the Regiment de Médoc is considered, with reason, as having set a very dangerous example ; and indeed the most serious consequences are to be apprehended in the present disordered state of affairs, should such a spirit diffuse itself through the rest of the Army. There are however different accounts of this Affair : the one I adopt was given me by a person of credit who had just received it from Toulouse.

A short time since M. de Walsh (proprietor of the Irish Regiment of his name, now under orders to prepare for embarkation for the Isle of France) addressing himself to M. de Brienne at his Levée for a majority en Second (the rank lately substituted in the room of Colonel en Second) for his Brother, received a positive refusal in a very severe and loud tone of voice, before a great

number of people ; the minister adding at the same time that the slightest mark of favor was not to be expected by any one who should conduct himself in the manner that he had done at his Provincial Assembly.

This circumstance has been much commented upon, and it is concluded from it, as also from other instances of a similar nature, that no great freedom of debate will be allowed at their meetings.

The fresh Remonstrances of the Parliament upon the Lettres de Cachet have not yet been carried up ;—those upon the late Séance Royale were presented on Sunday, and are said to contain Strictures upon the conduct of Government of a much freer nature than any that have been yet drawn up.

The registration of the last Loan is again represented as entirely illegal, and as offering no kind of security to individuals for their property. The Parliament has received orders to wait on the king this day at Versailles. The princes of the Blood, and with them the Duke of Orléans, who returns, as it is generally reported, from his exile, have also received orders to attend.

Amidst all this embarrassment Plans for the liberation of the National Debt are said to be under the inspection of people of the first reputation in matters of Finance, and with the sanction of the Ministers. One, in particular, is spoken of as intended to be submitted to the States. That Assembly being convened, it is, according to the project, proposed that it should raise a large sum for the purpose of paying off such of the Public Creditors as should refuse to consent to a reduction of interest (that is to say, of Annuities to eight per cent, and other Stock to five) upon the security of the Nation being given in lieu of that of the King's Edicts, simply enregistered by the parliament, but I venture to speak of this plan merely as a report, and as in a state, at all events, extremely crude and undigested.

After so much that has been said and published upon the subject of French Finance in general, and after it has been found that even those who have been the nearest to the sources of information have differed widely in their opinions as to the extent and

origin of that most important point, the deficiency, I conceive that it would be both superfluous and impertinent in me to offer any thing to your Lordship in addition to so tedious and doubtful an enquiry.

A question of a much more important nature occupies, at present, the minds of the thinking part of the nation :—To find out the means, not merely of remedying past abuses in the application of the public Treasure by transitory expedients ; not merely to restrain the frequency of arbitrary imprisonments by remonstrances and reclamations of Parliaments without authority ; but to insure the country, *in future*, against disorders so much and so justly complained of is the object to which their attention is now directed. Many circumstances have concurred to produce this disposition. The example of the very extraordinary and rapid recovery of Great Britain from the Wounds she received in the late War, has not failed to attract the attention of this people ; and the blessings of freedom and justice enjoyed in so eminent a degree under his Majesty's paternal Reign have excited an ardent desire to attain to similar advantages.

A sentiment of shame at the impotence betrayed by France in the late contest in Holland, and the disgraceful political Defeat that followed it, is strongly and generally impressed on men's minds, and is accompanied, no doubt, by the conviction that it is in vain to attempt to struggle with so vicious a Government against a power that possesses an innate and constitutional superiority. But in addition to observations and feelings so natural, it ought, above all, to be considered that there has grown up, of late years, a spirit of enquiry into the measures of Government, an opposition (if I may so call it) of Public Opinion of so forcible a nature, that it has been respected by Ministers even of the most arbitrary Principles. Religion, or rather Superstition of the Church of Rome for a long time upheld the Authority of the Sovereign ; but that which may be looked upon to have been in a manner, the Key Stone of the vast Pile of Absolute Power, is now dropt out, or rather worn away from the Building. Human Reason which had been fettered and restrained during so many centuries having

at last shaken off the yoke of Spiritual Tyranny is now, in the natural progress of freedom, proceeding to enquire into its Temporal Rights, and perhaps, to contend for a limitation of those powers of Government under which it has been so long oppressed.

In such a point of view, there appears without doubt much ground of apprehension for the interests of Great Britain, for it may be reasonably asked, if France, with all the vices of her Government, has been for so many ages in a situation to act often so brilliant and always so formidable a part in the affairs of Europe, what may not be expected from her when those vices shall have been eradicated, and when she shall be in possession of a constitution (as it is pretended she may) similar to that of her neighbour and Rival?

So strong is the sense of present disgrace and difficulties that it seems to have precluded all ideas of the possibility that a change should prove disadvantageous : an entire revolution in the form of the Government is therefore looked forward to with the greatest eagerness.

By giving, however, a very little extension to the enquiry into the grounds of such expectation, I humbly conceive that it will appear most evident that either this country must shortly be plunged into the most dreadful state of Anarchy, or an end be put to all pretensions to a Constitution.

The little success of the Minister who is at the head of the Finances, in all his operations, owing chiefly to the persevering opposition of the Parliaments, makes it believed that the Epoch of the Assembly of the States is near at hand.

As the Archbishop was *forced* into a promise of that Assembly in the year 1791, it is not to be expected that he will readily consent to its approximation.

Necessity only will bring forward the measure. But, supposing the Representatives of the Nation convened, and even the Majority of them to be animated with a desire to do well, and wisely, they must still be, as they have hitherto been, composed of the Ministers forming a party of the Court, the Clergy, the Nobility, and the Third Estate.

Let it be even supposed (a thing scarcely possible) that the nobility and Clergy should make a voluntary surrender of those privileges which make them, at present, so much the objects of envy and complaint; there must still, should a constitution be attempted to be formed, remain a party to defend the Authority of the Sovereign and another to attack and invade it. To draw the line between the prerogatives of the Prince and the Rights of the people, is a work of such magnitude as could with difficulty be perfected by the most enlightened and disinterested Men, all concurring to the same end. To effect it with opposite and jarring interests is a task that appears next to impossible.

Many parts of the English Constitution, it is said, may be adopted with great advantage to this kingdom.—I should rather think that it must be taken whole and entire, with all its Body of Jurisprudence civil and criminal naturally growing out of it, or not at all.

If the abolition of the Lettres de Cachet is to take place, it must be followed by a Law of Habeas Corpus. If the Revenues of the Court are to be strictly applied to the good Government of it, an Annual production of the Public Accounts cannot be withheld.

If the conduct of Ministers is allowed to be enquired into, the liberty of the press must of necessity be established. A partial assumption of these great features of Freedom would only tend to disfigure the French Monarchy, without producing any real advantage.

But, admitting that it were found practicable, by common consent, to adopt the whole or at least all the Essential parts of the British Government, (an event that the most chimerical and sanguine speculation can scarcely look forward to) it would then become a great political question how far such a form of Government would be applicable to a Kingdom of such an extent, and situated, on the Continent, as this is. The peculiar advantage of Great Britain (politically speaking) is its insular situation, by which it is exempted from the predicament of a great standing military force for its defense: but France placed between two great Powers in Europe with immense Armies, and having an extended

Frontier to guard, is under the most absolute necessity of maintaining one also. How far it is possible to reconcile the freedom of a nation with a power vested in the Prince (and it can be placed no where else) to dispose of one Hundred and sixty three thousand men (the number which I understand He has declared his intention of completing) I know not ; but in all the conversations that I have attended to upon the present fashionable topic of a Revolution, I have yet never heard this difficulty, however obvious, adverted to.

It would require much more knowledge of the general dispositions of the people at large, than I am possessed of, to be able to form any judgment of the degree of energy that might be called forth, and shewn in support of any demands that might be made in their favour : nor would it, I presume, be an easy matter for anyone to foresee what might be the consequence of a dissolution of an Assembly of the Nation, without any thing having been resolved upon (as is most likely to be the case) for the security of the Freedom and property of the subject :—should that energy prove as great as it is thought to be by some, it might go near to the total subversion of the Monarchy ; should it be, on the contrary, as little as it is esteemed to be by others, it would necessarily tend to produce a very great exercise of power and authority in the hands of the Crown.—All that can at present be foreseen with great certainty is a long contest and, of course, as long as it lasts, great weakness on the part of Government, as well with respect to Foreign as Domestic Affairs.

These reflections are not offered with a view to the suggestion of anything that will not have already occurred to your Lordship's wisdom : I have given them a place here to have the opportunity of observing to you, that as natural as they may be, they do not appear to enter into the calculations of those who are the most bent upon a change of Government.

. . . . . .

P.S. Monsr. de Châlons, Ambassador from this Court to the State of Venice has received orders to return home to give account of his conduct in his late dispute with that Government. I presume

your Lordship will have received a more particular detail of the violent manner in which he is said to have behaved than I am able to give you.

20. Hailes to Carmarthen.
24 April 1788.

...The Extract from Sir Robert Ainslie's Letter from Constantinople dated the 22nd of February, with which I have been favored by Mr. Fraser, came to my hands the day after news had been received here by the Minister from M. de Choiseul Gouffier. His letters were of the 16th of the same month, and, as I understand from M. de Montmorin, contained expressions of his hope to be able shortly to effect the deliverance of M. de Bulzakow from the seven Towers.[1] I did not fail to mention to the Minister the Substance of the Extract which had been forwarded to me, and to endeavor to impress him with the idea that the liberty of the Russian Envoy was entirely the work of His Majesty's Ambassador. I have also propagated the same Account amongst the foreign Ministers as much as possible, and have, in particular, made mention of it to M. de Mercy and M. de Simolin, the former of whom had just received Dispatches from his Court informing him of the enlargement of M. de Bulzakow, but without any kind of detail. I ought not however to omit to observe to your Lordship that the subject of Sir Robert Ainslie continues to be, as much as ever, a tender ground to tread upon, and that many of those to whom I have related this instance of the great influence which he displays at the Porte are inclined to interpret it as a fresh proof of the reality of his having been the cause of the declaration of the war, and the consequent detention of the Empress's Servant.

Your Lordship will be enabled to form a very accurate opinion of the State of the disputes between the Court and the Parliament (the great object of the public attention at present) from the last Remonstrances and the King's Answer, copies of which I have the

[1] It was the custom of the Porte, on a declaration of war, to imprison the ambassador of the Power against whom it was declared in the Castle of the Seven Towers which forms such a conspicuous object on Seraglio Point.

honor to enclose to you. It is hardly possible that the parties should be more adverse than they are in the principles they establish, and there does not appear to be any door left open to accommodation.

On Tuesday last the Parliament, after having sent an invitation to the Princes of the Blood, which they did not think proper to accept, met again, and appointed a Committee to draw up fresh Remonstrances, which, it is said, are intended to explain, still more at large, the principles of the French Monarchy ; and which at the same time that they will acknowledge that the Parliaments have no right beyond remonstrance in matters of Government in general will (arguing from their own incompetency) also establish, it is supposed, in the most positive manner, that the Nation alone, in the States assembled, can give its assent to Edicts (*Edits Bursaux*) that go to the imposing of any new Taxes on the Subject.

A great many reports are circulated about the intentions of the Court towards the Parliament. Some pretend that if it does not come to terms of accommodation and compliance immediately, it will be broke. Such a measure must be attended with great inconvenience and even danger to the credit of Government already so much reduced. Others believe (and it seems more likely) that the result of the long deliberations of the King with the Archbishop and the Garde des Sceaux, has been to establish a *commission intermédiaire*, which, taking from the Parliament every faculty but that of administr'ing Justice, is to be made competent to the authentication of all the Acts of Government, during the intervening space of one meeting of the States to another.

This project is spoken of by people likely to be well informed, but I cannot vouch for the truth of it, any more than for that of the assertion that the first meeting of the States is determined upon for the month of March 1790.

In the mean time, orders have been issued to all the Commandants and Intendants to repair immediately to their respective Provinces ; and some degree of apprehension seems to be entertained for the public tranquility. The Regiment de Médoc now at Toulouse has been taken from the Colonel that commands it, on

account of the favorable manner in which he is said to have behaved himself towards the Parliament of that City. All colonels commanding Regiments of Cavalry have orders to join by the first of May ; and the Colonels of Infantry by 15th of the same month.

The Duke of Orleans, who returned on Thursday from his Exile, was received with the greatest Cordiality by the King, and I hear he has declared his resolution of declining to take any part, in future, in the Affairs of Parliament.

It is expected that the Court will remove to St. Cloud for 6 weeks, some time between the 15th and 25th of May. The health of the Dauphin continues to mend and hopes begin to be entertained of his entire recovery.

On Sunday evening, Count Scarnafis, Ambassador from the King of Sardinia to this Court, died after a short illness.

21. Dorset to Carmarthen.
1 May 1788.

I brought with me from London your Lordship's Letter, No. 8, and the several Papers, respecting India, therewith inclosed : I have according to your Lordship's Instructions taken the first opportunity of speaking to Monsr. de Montmorin upon those particular points upon which you express a wish to have some positive information, and it is with satisfaction I can assure your Lordship that the Minister disclaims the idea of Instructions having ever, during his Administration, been sent to India which could either excite the jealousy of the English or in any degree tend to annoy their Possessions in that Quarter of the Globe. He further added that the Count de Conway has been particularly directed to cultivate a good understanding between the subjects of England and France, as the only means of promoting the mutual Interests of the two countries.

Monsr. de Montmorin was unwilling to enter into any discussion of the conduct of Monsr. de Cossigny, but assured me in the most solemn manner that he had no knowledge whatever of any Treaty having been signed between this Country and Tippoo Sultan,

which is so positively spoken of in the several Letters to Mr. Dundas from Sir John Macpherson, Sir Archibald Campbell, and one dated Permacoil 15th Sept. 1781 ; nor did he guess at the motives of that Prince for sending a splendid Embassy to the French Court, but that, since he had thought proper to send one, the Ambassador would be received with such honors as have usually been shewn in France to Representatives of Asiatic Princes.

I think I may venture to conclude from the tenor of the Minister's language during my conversation with him upon this subject that the line of conduct which the Count de Conway seems disposed to pursue will perfectly coincide with the wishes, and have the entire approbation of His Most Christian Majesty and His confidential Servants ; nor have I, from anything that fell from Monsr. de Montmorin, any reason to doubt the sincerity of that Officer's liberal and open professions to Mr. Hippisley. Nevertheless it must still appear very unaccountable that the Treaty referred to in the several Letters from India, without any question of the fact, should be wholly unknown to Mons. de Montmorin.

Your Lordship has already been informed by Mr. Hailes of the destination of the Regiment of Walsh for the Isle of France : in addition to which Reinforcement the two Regiments of Infantry of Rovergue and Auvergne, each consisting of 1216 men, are to be sent ; the whole together making 3648 men.

Monsr. de Montmorin took occasion to say that, if it shall be found that any act of hostility was committed in India during the uncertainty of events last year in respect to the Affairs of Holland, His Most Christian Majesty would not hesitate to issue immediate orders for restitution to be made, in cases of capture, and reparation for such injuries as a premature zeal upon the occasion may possibly have produced.

I cannot conclude without observing to your Lordship that the Minister's language throughout my conference with him was not only pacific but amicable in the highest degree and I make no doubt that you will hear similar sentiments expressed whenever your Lordship shall take occasion to converse with the Marquis de la Luzerne upon the same subject....

P.S. His Majesty reviews the Regiments of French and Swiss Guards upon the Plain de Sablonne on Saturday next. The Queen and the Royal Family will be present.

22. Dorset to Carmarthen.
1 May 1788.

A few days after my arrival here I received the Packet, herewith enclosed, from Sir Robert Ainslie, in order to its being forwarded to your Lordship together with two Packets for the Hon^ble^. the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

Sir Robert Ainslie writes me word that every thing was quiet at Constantinople ; and that Preparations for War were carrying on with the greatest activity and vigor ; it was expected by that Minister that the Campaign by Sea and by Land will open early in April, and he observes that, if Numbers and Courage can avail against discipline, the Turks may possibly maintain the contest which is likely to produce much trouble and mischief to all Parties. From the language of the Minister here it is very evident that the accounts sent by His Most Christian Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte differ greatly from the ideas of Sir Robert Ainslie, which appears to have the highest opinion of the resources which are to be found in the genius and enterprizing spirit of the Ottomans, while on the other hand... Monsr. de Montmorin is convinced that, from the want of order and discipline the Turks will be forced to listen to terms of accommodation at the end of the Campaign. But from the events with which we have hitherto been made acquainted it is to be feared that a speedy reconciliation is not likely to take place ; the resistance the Imperial Arms have met with, have prevented that decisive advantage which was so confidently expected.

The French are now become only Spectators of the important contest, but their close connection with Austria makes them leave no means untried to induce his Prussian Majesty to presume a strict neutrality, of which I understand that the Court of Berlin has given assurances.

Monsr. d'Esterno has received orders to repair to his Post at

Berlin immediately and will accordingly take leave on Sunday next.

The East India Company will not be suppressed : the Archbishop of Sens told one of the Directors as much—a few days ago.

The Company, upon balancing their accounts lately, find that they have a Dividend of about seven millions.

The Rhingrave of Salm has solicited of this Court permission to justify his conduct during the transactions last year in Holland, and threatens, in case of refusal, to publish a Memorial which it is thought the Court of Versailles would be very sorry should make its appearance: No answer has as yet been given to the Rhingrave.

The establishments for Bleaching which were intended to be formed by Dutch Emigrants at St. Omers and at Honfleur, for the support of which His Most Christian Majesty had allotted a large sum annually, meets with no success and most of the workmen are already returned home. Many of the Principal Hollanders reside in Paris, and those who stand in need of assistance are pensioned by the French Government.

We are daily expecting some fresh Edicts respecting the new-modelling the Constitution of the Parliaments of the Kingdom : it is said that a *Cour Plénière* is to be created which is to be composed of the Princes, Peers, and first Magistrates of the Realm, who are to decide upon all matters relative to Finance, registr'ing of Loans etc. etc. and that the Parliaments are to be considered in future as Courts of Judicature, as in fact they are at present for the Convenience of the Country, this remaining Body is to be divided in order to take separately its several Jurisdictions so that the Parties whose property is in litigation may not in future suffer the inconvenience of long journeys and great delays. Next Wednesday is mentioned for the publication of this very important measure, which I shall lose no time in communicating to your Lordship for His Majesty's information. All the Governors of the Principal Towns, where the Parliaments are held, are already set out for their Residences in order to be ready to receive His Majesty's orders and to enforce the immediate execution of them.

The Colonels of Dragoons have already left Paris to join their

Regiments and the remainder of that Rank of Officers will be all at their respective Quarters in the course of this month. The Squadron of Evolutions for this year is preparing for Sea and the Command of it is given to Mons. de Mitreul, Chef d'Escadre : it will consist of two Ships of the Line, two Frigates, and seven or nine Corvettes.

All we have to look to is that the Declaration be observed, and that the Armaments remain, upon the same footing as at the beginning of the year 1787.

I have written to Mons. de Montmorin in behalf of the British Mortgage Creditors of the Island of Tobago, and I am persuaded the French Ministers have too much candour to refuse them the justice to which they are entitled. Whenever I get His Excellency's Answer I shall immediately transmit it to your Lordship.

I congratulate your Lordship upon the conclusion of the Treaty of Defensive Alliance between his Majesty and the States General of the United Provinces, and I return your Lordship my thanks for your early information of so important an event.

The *Compte rendu*, which I send your Lordship, presents a favorable Picture, and, supposing the deficiency to be compleatly filled up this year, by the Economies, Retrenchments, and Loan of 120 Millions, offers a surplus of 7 millions : we must however take for granted that the Loan is filled, of which we have no moral certainty.

A Committee of the Parliament met on the 29th ulto. and it was unanimously resolved that when they registered the Vingtiêmes it was only for their prolongation and not their extension. Monsr. Despresmenil has denounced the plot forming by Government against the Parliaments.

The Exile to Auvergne, which happened on Monday last of a Person, employed by Parliament, for his abuse of the Ministers on account of their having increased the Taxes in Poitou, is to be animadverted upon in the next Remonstrances.

I send your Lordship the several Military Ordonnances which were published this morning.

The Dauphin is something better : His Royal Highness remains at Mendon some time longer....

Their Majesties will take up their residence at St. Cloud on the 16th Inst. for a month or 5 weeks, during which time the Foreign Ministers will transact business with Monsr. de Montmorin at his House in Paris.

P.S. I send your Lordship a Letter to the Count Dillon in favor of Mr. Orr, for which by your Lordship's desire I had applied to the Comte de la Luzerne.

23. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
5 May 1788.

I take the earliest opportunity of Communicating to your Lordship the Resolutions of the Parliament held on Saturday last ; they are enclosed herewith.

The French and Swiss Guards, which were reviewed by the King last Saturday, afforded His Majesty great satisfaction. The Maréchal de Biron attended as usual ; that respectable Veteran is in the 87th year of his age, and has had the command of the French Guards ever since the year 1745.

The Archbishop of Lyons died last Friday : besides the Vacancy of that See, two Abbeys drop to Government of about fifty thousand Livres each.

24. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
8 May 1788.

I had the honor of sending to your Lordship, last Monday by the post, the Resolution of the Parliament at their sitting on the preceeding Saturday. Lest my Letter may not have reached your Lordship, I now enclose a printed copy, that has since appeared, of those Resolutions, which were on Sunday taken to Versailles to be presented to His Majesty, who, however, would not receive the Deputation, but signed an Order for arresting Messrs. Despresmenil and Golard, two members and Counsellors of the Parliament ; these Gentlemen, who had been the principal movers of the Resolutions voted on Saturday, having a suspicion that their liberty was threatened, found means to convey themselves early on Monday morning to the Palais Marchand, where the court of

Parliament is held, and threw themselves under the protection of the Magistracy. The Peers and Magistrates being assembled on Monday, several other Resolutions, of which I have not yet been able to obtain a Copy, were passed and were that night carried to Versailles, the Parliament continuing to sit the whole time unwilling to break up 'till the fate of the two Magistrates should be known : at twelve o'clock the same night the Palais Marchand was surrounded and all the avenues leading to it occupied, by two Detachments, of 600 men each, from the French and Swiss Guards, in such a manner as effectually to prevent any sort of communication with the Members, no Person whatever being suffered to go in or come out; in this situation matters continued 'till 3 o'clock on Tuesday morning when those only who had been admitted as Spectators were permitted to return home. Among these were two Ladies of Fashion, the Comtesse de Stavenberg and Madame de Sabran :—

His Majesty having on the Sunday sent a positive order that the Resolutions should not, as was directed, be sent to the different Districts to be there published and registered, the Premier President, at the request of the Chamber on Monday, ordered the doors to be thrown open, after which the Resolutions were read to such of the Populace as happened to be present.—On Tuesday morning the Officer, Mons. d'Agoult, commanding the Detachment, entered the Parliament House, and in the King's name demanded M. Despresmenil, desiring at the same time to be informed where that Gentleman sat as he was unacquainted with his person. No answer however being made, M. d'Agoult found himself under the necessity of applying to one of the Tipstaffs of the Court upon which M. Despresmenil rose from his seat and surrendered himself to the Officer, who, at the request of the former, produced his Authority, an Order from the King, for the step he was taking, upon which M. Despresmenil in a short but pathetic speech addressed the Court, strongly recommending to the Members never to abandon the cause for which he had incurred the displeasure of His Majesty and at the same time took occasion to solicit their protection of his Wife and Children.

M. Despresmenil is said to have made a very eloquent speech upon the motion that was made on Monday night to clear the Court of the strangers that had got into it :

" Est-ce donc un moment d'observer des formes et des usages, à présent que le Palais est investé par des Bayonettes ? Non ! Que tout le Monde reste, que tous soient témoins de l'excès de Despotisme de la Violation des Loix et du Sanctuaire de la Justice. "

This spirited Magistrate was conducted to the Hôtel of the Lt. de la Police, whither M. Golard was soon after conveyed ; and the same evening they were sent away ; M. Despresmenil to the Isle Ste. Marguerite, and M. Golard to the Castle of Pierre-en-cise near Lyons.

The populace have hitherto been very quiet ; very few of the common people having been assembled at any one time. The crowd which collected during the time of the sitting of the Parliament, which lasted twenty-seven hours, consisted chiefly of the better sort of people. Notwithstanding that these violent measures have a visible effect, there does not appear to be the least disposition in the public to make the slightest resistance to the Royal Authority. There were only nine Peers present on Saturday ; but, as I am informed, the number was increased to about twenty before they broke up on Tuesday. None of the Princes of the Blood have attended—I send your Lordship a Resolution that passed on Tuesday morning after the departure of the two Magistrates which is more moderate than the late ones have been.

La Cour des Aides has presented a very spirited Remonstrance against all innovations in the Constitution, the Person who drew up this Remonstrance is likewise under confinement.

Yesterday the Parliament met and confirmed the sentiments of resistance of Saturday last, and it is said, protested against every act of Authority which may be proposed by the King this day.

The Parliament of Rouen have passed several violent Resolutions in opposition to the King's late Edicts relative to the levying of the second vingtième, and the zeal of the people in support of their Magistrates had occasioned a great alarm in that City.

There is also great reason to apprehend a disturbance at Rennes if Government should attempt to make any innovation in the Constitution of that Parliament and the Cte. de Thiard lately named by His Majesty to the Government of Britanny has already expressed his doubts of being able to enforce the Kings' Commands, in case Ministers shall persist in arbitrary Measures.

It is natural to suppose that, from the exaggerated accounts which probably are given of the proceedings here, this Country may appear to those who are at a distance to be in a state of actual civil war, but I can assure your Lordship that in the Capital everything is perfectly quiet and likely to continue so. In the Provinces indeed the case may be otherwise, though there is no authentic intelligence from any parts of any acts of violence having been committed. It is upon the whole imagined that the storm which seemed to threaten the internal tranquility of this Kingdom, will blow over, and that the examples lately made will have the effect of deterring others from shewing that spirit of opposition to the will of the sovereign, which, it is seen, does not fail to incur the severity of Arbitrary power.

The only awkward circumstance is how His Majesty will hereafter find money, if he quarrels with His Parliaments, but it is not like that Ministers should not have foreseen such an inconvenience and provided a remedy against it.

I send your Lordship the Arrêt du Conseil d'Etat du Roi of the 4th inst.

M. de Montmorin's last Letters from Constantinople are dated the 11th of March, the latest letter, which I sent to your Lordship from Sir Robert Ainslie was of the 15th March.

There are no late accounts from the Imperial Armies.

25. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
8 May 1788.

At my particular request the Comte de Montmorin has had the goodness to send me the enclosed Edicts together with His Majesty's Speeches, as also those of the Garde des Sceaux which were delivered this morning at the *lit de Justice* held at Versailles.

To-morrow His Majesty will signify his Royal pleasure respecting the powers to be given to la Cour Plénière, to the Peers, and to the Members of the Great Chamber : the result of which and the future proceedings in this interesting Business I shall forward to your Lordship by the first opportunity.

26. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
12 May 1788.

As I have the greatest reason to believe that all Letters sent by the Post from hence are scrupulously examined and their contents reported to Government ; I have thought proper in order to obviate any inconvenience or delay in forwarding an account of the Proceedings of the Court and of the Parliament, to dispatch Lanyun with the following particulars of what has passed since I had last the honor of writing to your Lordship.

The same day (Thursday) on which His Majesty held the *Lit de Justice* at Versailles, Monsieur and the Comte d'Artois signified, the former to the *Chambre des Comptes* and the Latter to the *Cour des Aides*, His Majesty's pleasure, and registered the same Edicts as those which were proposed to the Parliament :—The Edicts etc. which I sent to your Lordship last Thursday and of which I now send other Copies, put together in the Order in which they were delivered fully explain the new regulations intended to be made ; I therefore do not think it necessary to enter into any explanation of them.

His Majesty having dismissed the *Lit de Justice*, the Members of the *Grande* Chambre who had received the king's Orders to remain at Versailles 'till the following day and were at the same time given to understand that no Remonstrance or Application of any kind would be received from that Body, which was expressly forbid to assemble, addressed His Majesty *separately* by Letter as follows :—

Sire,

Vos fidelles Magistrats, consternés des innovations destructives de la Constitution de la Monarchie dont on essayeroit inutilement de se

rendre participans, supplient Votre Magisté de leur permettre de Lui déclarer l'impossibilité absolue ou ils sont d'accepter aucune des fonctions qui leur sont attribuées par les Edits dont ils viennent d'entendre la lecture ; c'est le zèle le plus pur qui dicte à vos Magistrats la déclaration qu'ils viennent de déposer au pied du Trône.

To this Letter no answer has been given.

The Peers also met to consult upon an Address to His Majesty in the same manner, but as a difference of opinion prevailed in that Body, only the six following Noblemen wrote the Letter.

The Duc de Fitz-James.
Le Duc de Rochefoucault.
Le Duc d'Aumont.
Le Duc de Praslin.
Le Duc de Luxembourg.
Le Duc d'Usèz.

Seven or eight others, amongst whom were the Archbishop of Paris, and the Duc de Coigny, declined taking any further steps.

I have not yet been able to procure a copy of this Letter, though I have of His Majesty's Answer, which was as follows.

Mon Cousin.

Pour ne pas vous témoigner trop de déplaisir de votre Lettre, Je ne peux mieux faire que de vous la renvoyer ; l'attribuer à un mouvement peu reflechi ; l'oublier.

On Friday last His Majesty held another *Lit de Justice* which lasted only a few minutes : the following is the purport of His Majesty's Speech.—

Je vous rassemblerai peut-être avant l'époque que j'avois fixée si la circonstance l'exige. Je compte assez sur mon Parlement pour croire qu'il ne s'opposera point à mes intentions ; au reste, je déclare que je ne me relacherai en rien de ce que j'ai avancé hier.

Immediately after, the Members of the *Grande Chambre* as well as the Peers, returned to Paris. Orders were given to Mons. d'Agoult, the Officer commanding the Troops, to bring away from the Greffe (the Registry) all the Rolls. How long the Troops will continue upon guard is uncertain, the tranquility and apparent

indifference of the Populace upon this occasion is very extraordinary the Soldiers not having experienced the slightest insult. Mons. d'Agoult was indeed assaulted one day, but the Agressor was taken up and proved to be a very insignificant person, an Under-Officer of the Parliament. His Majesty does not intend to assemble the *Cour Plénière* sooner than September unless some unforseen circumstances shall make an earlier summons necessary. The *Grande Chambre*, which was intended by the Court to make so large a part of the *Cour Plénière*, have protested against all the proceedings of the *Lit de Justice* as null and illegal, and have declared that they took no part in them whatever. Their Protest not having been transcribed in due form upon the registers of the Parliament, on account of the Palais being shut up, the same has been deposited in the hands of a Notary Public.

Those of the *Chambres* des Enquêtes et Requêtes, who have been suppressed by the Edict have also protested and will not admit of the legality of their suppression.

In the mean time the Palais continues to be surrounded by the French Guards ; no access is allowed to it, and the administration of Justice is entirely suspended. At present all the members of the Parliament are agreed upon not giving their assent to the new Form of Government but, as a great Length of time is allowed before their next meeting, it is probable that a change of sentiments may take place.

The accounts from Rouen are favourable the King's commands having been carried into execution by the Duc de Benoron without the smallest murmur or disturbance, though the Parliament of that Province had issued some very strong Resolutions against an innovation in their Constitution : nevertheless it is thought that the Parliament of Rouen will adopt the same plea as that of Paris and protest against all the new Laws enacted at the *Lit de Justice.*

The Parliament of Metz likewise received His Majesty's commands with the greatest submission as did also the Supreme Court of Judication at Clemont en Auvergne....

The Accounts from Rennes are different : Mons. le Comte de Thiard apprehending a very violent opposition, thought proper to

suspend His Majesty's Orders, and sent for fresh Instructions :—

Saturday last having been the day appointed for the Meeting of the States and Parliament, accounts are hourly expected from that Quarter. Some letters from Rennes mention that the Procureur Syndic of the States went to the House of Parliament attended by fifty Gentlemen who all protested against any proposal that might be made to invade their rights and privileges : there is reason to believe that a *Coup d'Autorité* will meet with in that Country a more than ordinary resistance.

Monsr. de St. Priest, I am just informed, took leave yesterday but I do not know from authority that he did.

Monsr. de Brienne, Ministre de la Guerre, Le Prince de Luxembourg, Capitaine des Gardes du Corp du Roi, et le Comte de Thiard, Gouverneur de Bretagne, were yesterday named by His Majesty Knights of the Holy Ghost. There are three Blue Ribbands still vacant.

The last Letters from Constantinople are dated the 22nd March, at which period M. de Bulzakow was still a prisoner in the seven Towers. The Grand Vizir with His Army had left the Environs of that City. It is reported that the Austrians have gained an advantage over the Turks at Jassy in Moldavia.

I send your Lordship enclosed the Resolution of the Parliament which I had not been able to procure last week.

27. Dorset to Carmarthen.
15 May 1788.

Since I had last the honour of writing to your Lordship accounts have been received from several of the Provincial Capitals which mention that no resistance had been offered nor any disturbance made upon the Notification of His Majesty's Commands.

The Comte de Thiard met with little or no difficulty at Rennes, though, from an apprehension of much discontent and its consequences, he had thought it advisable to defer the execution of the Orders he had received 'till he should be further instructed how to proceed. This delay happened not to be material, but the Ministers were rather displeased at this conduct of the Comte de Thiard.

However the nomination of that Governor to one of the vacant Blue Ribbands is sufficient proof that His Majesty was not dissatisfied with him.

Your Lordship will see by the few following particulars, which I have transcribed, of what passed at Rennes, that the States and Parliament of that Province have by no means resigned their Privileges up to the Power of the *Cour Plénière*, but that on the contrary the language of the Nobility is even stronger than that held by the Parliament of Paris.

Discours de la Noblesse à M. le Comte de Thiard.

Nous nous remettons, Monsieur, la protestation que le Procureur Générale Syndic des Etats de Bretagne a deposée au Parliament.

Elle exprime le vœux de la Noblesse ; nous ne doutons pas, Monsieur, que si sa Majesté en étoit instruite, elle ne retira les ordres rigoureux que les ennemis de sa Gloire et de la Nation ont osé lui surprendre, et qu'un vrai Serviteur du Roi ne sauroit exécuter.

Arrête de la Noblesse de Bretagne du 9 Mai.

Nous soussignés Membres de la Noblesse de la Province de Bretagne déclarons infâmes ceux qui pourroient accepter quelques Places, soit dans l'Administration des Etats, qui ne seroient pas avouées par les loix constitutionelles de la Province.

Signé de l'Ordre de la Noblesse.

Réponse du Roi aux Etats de Bretagne du 12 Mai.

Je ne retirerai pas mes Edits ; la Loi étant générale pour tout le Royaume, s'il s'y trouve des objets contraires aux droits, franchises, et libertés de la Province, Je recevrai des Représentations des Etats et aurai égard à celles qui me paroîtront fondées.

S'il est constaté que le Nombre de 48 Juges ne soit pas suffisant on pourra l'augmenter.

Son Impôt nouveau qui sera enregistré par la Cour Plénière, ne pourra être levé en Bretagne sans le consentement préalable des Etats et enregistré au Parlement.

Toute loi particulière à la Bretagne sera enregistrée au Parlement comme par le passé.

The Parliament of Besançon has also registered the Proceedings of the *Lit de Justice*. A particular circumstance attended that Body of Magistrates—viz—since the registering the Re-establishment of that Parliament in 1774, no one Law whatever has been registered, so that in order to proceed regularly it was necessary that all the Laws which had passed since the Accession of His present Majesty to the Throne should be registered, which occasioned that Assembly to remain sitting for the space of thirty-nine hours without intermission.

The Maréchal de Vaux presided. The Parliament of Thoulouse made no difficulties, but the Comte de Périgord was under the necessity, at the request of the First President, to order two Sentries to attend the Members to the Assembly, in order to its appearing on the Journals that their obedience to the commands of their Sovereign in this instance was an act of compulsion.

The Parliament of Dijon was quite passive, yet it must be observed to your Lordship that not one of these Legislative Bodies had admitted the legality of the Proceedings of the *Lit de Justice* nor of the establishment of a *Cour Plénière* which, by the new Laws, deprives the Parliaments of the principal part of their Privileges.—It is not intended to assemble the Cour Plénière 'till the first of December, by which the Ministers will have opportunity to determine what Persons shall be found most proper to compose that Court, and they may hope that the uneasiness occasioned throughout the nation by the exertion of such an Arbitrary Stretch of power, may have time to subside.

The Châtelet is now become the Grand Baillage de Paris. It remains to be seen whether it will consent to enter on the Judicial Business which is attributed to it by the Edict. Many think it will not. The Grands Baillages in the Provinces have the same Privilèges as that of the Châtelet de Paris : all other matters of greater importance are suspended and will remain so 'till the Re-establishment of the Parliaments in their judicial capacity.

The Palais Marchand and the avenues leading to it continue to

be guarded, though the number of the Soldiers is greatly reduced.

The Gazette of France of Tuesday last takes notice that His Majesty held His Cour Plénière on Friday, which must be an error as it would certainly have been an inconsistency, since His Majesty in His Speech on that day which I have the honor to send enclosed to your Lordship, together with Copies of other Proceedings of the Parliament not yet printed, only says,

"Que lorsque j'aurai determiné le choix des Personnes qui completteront avec vous Ma Cour Plénière" for if that Meeting was to be considered as a *Cour Plénière* why not have made it enter upon its Functions on That Day? The Gazette is herewith enclosed.

The six Advocates, amongst whom was the celebrated *Target*, appointed to examine into and decide upon the Reform of the Civil and Criminal Laws have sent in their Resignations to the *Garde des Sceaux*.

P.S. It is strongly reported that His Majesty has been requested by the Principal Ministers and the Garde des Sceaux to dismiss the Baron Breteuil: from whence people conclude that Minister's resignation will shortly take place.

28. Dorset to Carmarthen.
15 May 1788.

I have the honor to send your Lordship an extraordinary Vienna-Gazette, containing accounts of some Skirmishes between the Imperial and Turkish Armies and also of the taking of the Village and Fortress of Schabacz by the Imperialists.

These are the last accounts from Vienna and there are none from Constantinople later than the 22nd of March.

I took occasion on Tuesday last to mention to Mons. de Montmorin my surprize at the early departure of the Spanish Squadron from Cadiz, consisting of seven Sail of Ships of the Line and other armed Vessels:—that Minister assured me that, so far as He knew the intention of the Spanish Court went no farther than merely a Cruize off Cape St. Vincent for the purpose of exercise and evolution: So large a Force, if it was not for the repeated

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assurance of this Court, might be considered as preparatory to some hostile measure, and the natural connection between the French and Spanish Courts might justify the suspicion ; but on the other hand from the situation of this Country at this moment, it cannot be supposed that the Cabinet of Versailles would venture upon any step that could raise the jealousy of England, embarrassed as France now is with Her Parliament and oppressed with an enormous Debt.

It is reported that the Bishop of Autun will be translated to the Archbishoprick of Lyons, lately become vacant and that the Abbé de Coucy, Chaplain to His Majesty, will be named Bishop of Autun.

The Abbé de Coucy is very nearly related to M. de Barthélemi.

Monsr. Despresmenil's son has applied for His Majesty's permission to go and remain with his Father, and it is imagined that his request will be complied with.

Monsr. de Malleville, Intendant de la Bretagne has resigned his Place, which he accepted only on condition that he was not to be employed in any mission that could in any way tend to give offence to the Parliament of Rennes.

Their Majesties went yesterday to St. Cloud, and His Royal Highness the Duc de Normandie will be inoculated there immediately. The Dauphin has relapsed and His Physicians entertain little or no hopes of His recovery.

The Marquis of Crodon, lately named Ambassador to this Court from that of Turin is expected here in about a Month.

The Baron de Talleyrand is lately returned from that Capital, having obtained leave of Absence for twelve Months.

The Marquis de Bombelle is also hourly expected from Lisbon having obtained the like permission from this Court.

The Comte d'Andlan, Minister from His Most Christian Majesty to Brussels has resigned that appointment ; it is not yet determined whether a successor to that Gentleman will be named or that—only a Resident will be appointed to that Mission.

29. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
19 May 1788.

I take the opportunity of Mr. Belz return to England to send your Lordship Despatches from Sir Robert Ainslie which I received late on Thursday evening: though every sort of intelligence from that Quarter is interesting at this moment, I did not think the contents of the enclosed Despatches of importance sufficient to forward them to your Lordship by a Messenger Extraordinary, nor was I willing to risk the delay to which they might have been liable by the Post.

The Departure of the Grand Vizir with his Army and the forwardness of the Captan Pasha's Fleet destined for the Black Sea are important circumstances, but the spreading of the Plague in some of the Greek Islands and in a part of the Morea seem to demand the immediate attention of the European Powers.

I herewith send your Lordship the Resolutions of the Châtelet (one of the Criminal Courts) by which it refuses to act under the new Form:—

The accounts from Bordeaux and Grenoble are much the same as those which have been received from other Parts, excepting that the Parliament of Bordeaux have entered Protests against the new edicts before the Dissolution of its Meeting.

P.S. Accounts from Vienna mention that a detached Corps under the command of Prince Charles of Licthenstein had met with a repulse in an attack made upon a Fortress on the Banks of the Save: the loss sustained by the Imperial Troops on this occasion is thought to be considerable:

Particulars of this Affair are hourly expected from Vienna.

30. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
22 May 1788.

The several Parliaments throughout the Kingdom seem to be perfectly agreed in their opinion upon the Resolutions of the Court. His Majesty's commands having been received by all of them with an equal degree of dissatisfaction, it now remains to be seen

whether the Bailiwicks (Grands Bailliages) will submit or not to act under the new regulations. Most of those Courts in the Jurisdiction of the Parliament of Paris have, however, already complied, but others have refused. The Châtelet still continues to hold itself in opposition to the King's commands, notwithstanding that they were signified to that Body yesterday by M. de Fourqueux, Conseiller d'Etat, whose presence did not produce any change of sentiments. On the contrary a Protest, of which I send your Lordship a Copy, was immediately entered. All the Advocates and Attornies refuse to attend, nor do any of them appear at the Court of the Châtelet, which necessarily occasions a suspension of business. Consequently justice cannot be adminstered, and unless His Majesty shall think proper to relax or that of the Châtelet finds itself under the necessity of giving way, much confusion will ensue. The language of Party runs high : many are persuaded that a new Constitution is upon the Eve of being formed, and that at the Assembly of the States-General the King's Authority will receive a great check ; while others less sanguine are of opinion that His Majesty's Power will undergo no diminution beyond what He may Himself voluntarily permit.

The discontent of the Parliaments has not yet reached the people at large, indeed the Parliaments do not seem to hold that consideration in the eyes of the public which alone could make them formidable.

The last accounts from Rennes represent that Parliament as having become much more calmly disposed than it was, but there still remains a great degree of discontent amongst the nobility who compose the states :—The King's Answer to that Body which I had the honor to send your Lordship last Thursday, proves to have been spurious, His Majesty not having addressed the States of Brittanny upon this late occasion in the manner as was pretended at Rennes by the Magistrates. Such was indeed the tenor of the language held in the King's name by the Ministers to the Deputies of the States at Versailles, that His Majesty's sentiments were not delivered in writing.

The Assembly of the Clergy, which is now holding, join in the

public requisition for the States-General, and the demand that has been made by the Court for Four Millions, in addition to the customary grant, has not been complied with. They tell the King that a matter of so much importance requires time and deliberation.

It is said that, as a means of lessening the expenses of the Foreign Department, no Ministers, of the rank of Ambassador, will in future be named excepting to Crowned Heads, nor will there from this time be any other than a Resident appointed to Brussels. The Dauphin's state of health is become very alarming and gives great uneasiness. The Duc de Normandie continues well; no symptoms of the small-Pox have yet appeared.

The idea of the Baron de Breteuil's dismission, which I mentioned in my Despatch No. 33, last week, appears to have had no foundation.

Your Lordship will, I hope, have received a Packet from me, containing Despatches from Sir Robert Ainslie, of which Mr. Belz, who left Paris last Tuesday, took charge : in my Letter of that day I took notice of the repulse which a Body of Austrians had met with in an attack upon a Fortress on the Banks of the Save, the Particulars of which were hourly expected ; no further accounts of that Affair have however yet been received.

When the last letters left Toulon the Aurora Frigate with the ambassadors from Tippo Sultan on Board, was not arrived in that Port, but as she had been met with in the Mediterranean she was expected every hour : This ship had not put into Carthagena as was reported...

P.S. Monsr. de Montmorin being in the Country last Tuesday did not receive the Foreign Ministers.

I have just heard that at the Assembly of the Clergy, which sate yesterday, the Bishop of Blois opposed the granting of the four Millions in addition to the usual Donation of that Body and proposed that the King should be addressed to convene the States-General as soon as possible.

The Archbishop of Narbonne opposed the Motion, and the Abbé de Montesquiou proposing the measure to be put to the vote, it appeared that there were for the address 39 ; against it 33.

31. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
29 May 1778.

The Affairs within the Jurisdiction of Paris wear a better aspect than when I had last the honor of writing to your Lordship. Several of the Bailliages have acceded to the new Laws and have consented to act under them. Of these I enclose a List as published yesterday by Order of Government : the List contains also the names of several other Bailliages which have likewise accepted.

The Châtelet of Paris remains as it was, but continues its functions under the Old form, so that there is no stop to the business that falls under its ancient constitution.

All the new Laws are registered by the different Courts of the Parliament, and the Guards, under the command of Mons. d'Agoult, still remain in the precincts of the Palais Marchand : the number is reduced to two hundred, and the Men and Officers are regularly quartered.

A slight disturbance happened two days ago, owing to some Trades-people who wanted to have possession of some of their effects, and a Lawyer who was desirous of having access to some Papers : admittance being refused them they proceeded to insult the Soldiery and made use of some indecent expression against Monsr. d'Agoult ; but the matter went no further.

At Rennes Matters are far from being settled : the States refuse *in toto* to admit the new Laws, and have declared all those infamous who accept any Employment under them. I send your Lordship inclosed the Resolutions of the Nobility of that Province in direct opposition to the commands of His Majesty. The Comte de Thiard represented the Illegality of their assembling, and was answered by them that they had assembled at the time when the English Army was on the Coast near St. Cas in order to defend themselves, and that as they conceived their property to be at this time in equal danger they thought they had a right to meet together for the purpose of consulting upon the best means of protecting it. The situation of the Comte de Thiard is peculiarly unpleasant, for, besides the embarrassment occasioned by the

determined opposition of the Nobility and Gentry to the King's Commands, the Members of the States have come to a resolution not to visit him, and take every means of shewing their discontent insomuch that the only Company who frequent the Governor's House consists of the Officers who are quartered in the Town.

An order was sent on Saturday last to Thoulouse exiling that Parliament. The reason of this mark of His Majesty's displeasure was—that Body assembling at the House of the First President, in direct opposition to His Majesty's injunctions, when a violent Arrêté was passed against all that had been done in the Lit de Justice.

Some people go so far as to say that the Magistrates of that Parliament will refuse to submit to the King's Order; but, whatever resistance His Majesty's Orders may meet with whether in Thoulouse or in any other part of the Kingdom, I have reason to think that the Cabinet of Versailles will not relax in any respect; and however general the demand may be for the holding the States-General sooner than 1792, it is not likely that requisition will be complied with, so long as the least opposition shews itself in the Parliaments, with respect to the new Regulations.

The Grand Bailliage is established at Libourne and is now invested with its new functions.

I send your Lordship inclosed a Copy of some Resolutions of the Parliament of Paris which were intended to be presented to His Majesty prior to those of the third of the Month, which for energy and expression do honor to the Author: Monsr. D'Espresmenil is said to have drawn them up.

The Archbishop of Sens has acquainted the Son of Monsr. D'Espresmenil that he has laid his Letter requesting leave to join his Father, before the King, but that His Majesty, at the same time that he approved his intentions, had declared that such permission could not yet be granted to him.

The Commissioners appointed by the Assembly of the Clergy to draw up Remonstrances to be presented to His Majesty have not yet digested them, not has anything respecting their Meeting as yet transpired.

Mons. de Berthier, Intendant of Paris, addressed a very civil Letter last Wednesday to the Greffiers of the Tournelle, in which he begged they would call upon him the following morning:—On their arrival, he informed them that he had an order to insist upon their giving him a List of all the Criminal Causes that were preparing for Tryal, as also of the Prisoners detained at the Conciergerie; to which the Greffiers returned for answer that the keeper of the Prison was more competent than they were to satisfy his enquiries upon that point.

The Dauphin is something better; Their Majesties go frequently to see Him.

The Duc de Normandie is quite well. The Court will remain at St. Cloud 'till the 14th of next Month.

The Comte de Chalas His Most Christian Majesty's Ambassador at Venice is returned home, having obtained leave of absence for a few months.

32. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
29 May 1788.

...In my conversation with Monsr. de Montmorin last Tuesday I learned from that Minister that it is the intention of this Government to form three different Encampments this summer, a Measure recommended by the Council of War, but the number of Men for each, and the Places are not yet fixed, nor can the Encampments well take place sooner than the latter end of July or beginning of August. Alsace and Flanders will in all probability be occupied by the Largest Bodies of Troops: however as soon as the whole is arranged Mons. de Montmorin will without reserve make me acquainted with all the Particulars in order to my communicating them to your Lordship for His Majesty's information. The Council of War have adjourned their sittings for a Month or six weeks. The Members who compose this Assembly have allotted to themselves separate Services. The Duc de Guines attends to the cloathing and accout'ring of the Army: The Comte d'Esterhazy and the Comte de Jaucourt are to examine into the State of the Military Hospitals in order to correct the abuses that have been

practised in them. The Marquis d'Autichamp, the Comte de Puységar and M. de Lambert are occupied in forming a new plan for exercising and manœuvering the Troops. The conduct of This Board of General Officers has met with the approbation of His Majesty. They have a fixed salary of 6000 French Livres each, to be continued so long as they remain in that capacity...

33. Dorset to Carmarthen.
5 June 1788.

The Guard is still continued at the Palais, where, though no Violence had been used on either part, the Officers and Soldiers suffer frequent insults from the populace.

Opportunities have been found for sticking up in different places Placards and Songs, but they are always taken down immediately, and the Police is very active in preventing as much as possible all sorts of incendiary Papers from being dispersed in this City and its Environs.

By the account from Rennes matters there are become very serious and alarming: a Body of Gentlemen, some hundreds in number, have signed a letter to his Majesty, which has been transmitted by the Comte de Thiard, containing very violent Protestations against the new Laws, by which they contend that the States of Brittany would be deprived of their Rights and Franchises; They insist also upon the liberty of assembling whenever the exigencies of the times may seem to require it.

This address is said to be drawn up in very violent language, and His Majesty has refused to receive it, which indeed would equally have been the case, had it been expressed in moderate terms, since it is contrary to the express commands of the King to offer anything in the way of remonstrance.

In consequence of the opposition maintained by these Gentlemen, Government have thought it expedient to order four Regiments of Infantry (three German and one Swiss); one of Chasseurs and one of Dragoons to march immediately to Rennes: the Horse consist of Hussars and the Dragoons of Chartres: this Force will join the

Regiments of Laforet and Rohan-Soubise which are quartered in that Town.

The Comte de Thiard's situation becomes more and more unpleasant and embarrassing: it is said he will be immediately recalled and that a Commander-in-Chief of the Army collected there on this occasion will be appointed.

The Maréchal de Vaux, to whom this command has been offered declines serving on account of his great age, being upwards of 82 years old, and it is thought the Comte de Langéron, Knight of the Order of the Holy Ghost, will be named: but I have heard it suggested that if any considerable Body of Troops is sent into Brittany that M. de Rochambeau will be put at the head of them; *sans doute on le regarde comme également propre pour soumettre comme pour aider les Rebelles.*

A Meeting of the States and Parliament was to be held last Monday at Rennes, which probably cannot have been prevented by the Military Force in the Town, unless some of the Reinforcements arrived there in time, for it seemed very uncertain whether the Troops, without some reinforcement, would venture to oppose the Meeting. Intelligence of the proceedings of that day might have arrived last night or this morning, but I do not learn that any accounts from Rennes have yet been received. The Court and likewise the Public in general are expecting with much anxiety news from that Quarter; particularly as the future conduct of the other Parliaments of the Kingdom will be determined by the result of what is now passing in Brittany.

The firmness and resolution of His Majesty's Ministers must now be put to the test.

Your Lordship will receive herewith inclosed the proceedings of the Parliament of Thoulouse which occasioned the exile of that Body of Magistrates: It is said that the Comte de Perigord has permitted each member to choose the place of his retreat on condition that it be not less than two leagues from Thoulouse.

The Lettres de Cachet were delivered by the Officers of the Noailles Regiment of Dragoons, and of the Infantry Regiment of Bresse.

I have met with a copy, which I send your Lordship, of a very extraordinary Arrêt of the Parliament of Dauphiné : it seems too absurd to be considered as authentic, yet such is the spirit of the times that nothing of this kind may not be expected : it is even reported that the States of Brittany in their Letter to the King before-mentioned, say that, before they can think of entering upon their functions as Statesmen and Magistrates, the Heads of the Archbishop of Sens, and Mons. de Lamoignon must be delivered to them by way of earnest for the security of their liberties, observing at the same time that they were of opinion that their terms were very moderate.

The two first Lieutenants of the French Guards, the one a Bréton, Mons. de Bertolet, a gentleman of considerable fortune, the other a Gentleman of the Province of Lyonnois, have resigned their commissions in consequence of the present situation of Affairs. This is the first instance of disaffection that has shewn itself in His Majesty's Army. It is not likely that these resignations will have much effect, as both these officers are men of independent fortunes, and, having sometime since received the Croix de St. Louis, had no favor to look to from the Court, so that the sacrifice they have made on this occasion is not very great.

I have heard that very great offers have been made to the Chancellor Maupeou to induce him to resign his titular dignity in favor of Mons. de Lamoignon: Liberty, a Dutchy, and other honors and emoluments it is said have been proposed to this exiled Chief of the Magistracy, but his answer has been, *Je ne donne, ni ne prens.*

The last Letters from Vienna mention that His Imperial Majesty has had a fall from His horse by which he had received a slight hurt a little above the instep. The same letters add that the preparations for the siege of Belgrade were going on with great vigor.

It is believed here that His Prussian Majesty intends forming a Camp this summer at Wesel.

The Absence of Mons. de Montmorin from Paris last Tuesday prevented the Foreign Ministers from having their audiences.

The sixteen Commissaries of the Clergy who meet every day

morning and evening, have not yet completed their business, which it is imagined will still occupy them to the end of this week.

The Bishop of Orleans died last week; the Bishoprick is disposed of to the Coadjutor de Tarinte. The late Bishop of Orleans through his influence in the late King's reign got the present Principal Minister promoted to the See of Thoulouse.—The Bishoprick of Autun is not yet disposed of.

The Dauphin continues very poorly.

The Marquis de Montesquiou, first Equerry to Monsieur, was robbed, either on Tuesday or Wednesday night, of 180,000 Livres Tournois, part of it in Cash; the rest in Notes of the Caisse d'Escompte, and Actions (shares) of the Water Company: the Robbers entered the House through the Garden by the assistance of false keys; His Strong-Box only was forced open.

P.S. La Réclamation du Tiers-Etat, which I have the honor to send your Lordship inclosed seems to have been authorized by Government though it is not avowed. It is beyond a doubt that the intention of Government is to appoint several members of the Provincial Assemblies to the Cour Plénière, and perhaps His Majesty may be advised to extend the composition of this Assembly to the Tiers-Etat.

I inclose to your Lordship the Proceedings of the Magistrates of Besançon subsequent to the Lit de Justice held at that Place....

34. Dorset to Carmarthen.
8 June 1788.

Mr. Swinburne who leaves Paris this day, takes charge of this Letter.

Since I had last the honor of writing to your Lordship, an account has been received from Rennes of the Exile of that Parliament, the Members of which, as well as the Nobility and Gentry were ordered to repair to their respective Country-Houses without loss of time. As soon as it was discovered that the Lettres de Cachet were received by the Governor, the Members appointed a Meeting at a private House, where they assembled with a determined Resolution not to admit the delivery of them, but

the populace having collected together, upon finding the House surrounded by the Military, and shewing a strong disposition to proceed to acts of violence which very much alarmed the Inhabitants, the Magistrates, Members of the Parliament, found it necessary to interpose their Authority, and it was thought adviseable, in order to prevent the disagreeable consequences that seemed likely to ensue, to receive the Lettres de Cachet.

The Officer commanding the Regiment quartered at Rennes, having been repeatedly insulted in very gross manner, not only by the lower sort of people but also by several Gentlemen of the Place, found himself driven to the necessity of seeking reparation for the affronts that had been offered him, and in an Affaire d'honneur with one of the Nobility severely wounded his Antagonist.

When the last Letters left Rennes everything was tolerably quiet, most of the Members having left the Town, and, which perhaps still more contributed to keeping the peace, three or four Regiments having arrived there. Nevertheless there does not seem, by what I hear, to be the least disposition to admit the new laws in Britanny without repeated and continued acts of compulsion. This spirit of resistance has determined Government to send a large Body of Troops,about twelve thousand in number, composed chiefly of foreign Regiments in the service of France, into that Province, where also a Camp will be formed in the course of the Summer. The unexpected necessity of having a Camp in that part of the kingdom, has occasioned changes to be made in the dispositions that were arranged. The project of a Camp in Alsace, which was intended, is accordingly laid aside, as well as that which was fixed to be in Flanders : there will however still be two Camps on that side of the Country : one near Metz, consisting of thirty thousand men, to be commanded by the Maréchal de Broglie, the Marquis de Bouillé second in command : the other in Artois commanded by the Prince of Condé; the second in command under his Serene Highness is not yet named, nor is yet known what number of men this Camp will consist of. His Majesty has not yet named a Commander for the Camp of Britanny : it is said

that the Maréchal de Castries has sollicited to have this appointment but there is little reason to suppose that his services will be accepted.

I send your Lordship inclosed a Mémoire that was delivered to the Comte de Thiard by the Nobility at Rennes.

It is not yet known what Resolutions the States have come to, or whether anything further has been resolved upon at any Meeting since that period.

Several of the Grands Bailliages which were announced by authority from Government as having accepted the new Ordonnances have contradicted the assertion, particularly at Nancy, the Magistrates of that Bailliwicks having passed an Act declaring the assertion to be false, and contrary to the tenor of all their former Resolutions.

35. Dorset to Carmarthen.
12 June 1788.

An account arrived yesterday at St. Cloud of the resistance made by the populace at Grenoble as soon as it was known there that the King's orders for the banishment of that Parliament were received.

This affair, as your Lordship may easily imagine, is differently related, but the following is the account most credited.

The Members of the Parliament being on the point of departing to their respective Country-seats, a general alarm was spread through the Town by the sounding of a Tocsin (an alarm-bell) upon which the populace, to the number of about 5000, assembled and forced their way into the Arsenal, seized all the arms they could find, drove the Military from their posts and obliged the Governor, the Duc de Clermont Tonnerre to deliver up to them the Keys of the Parliament-House, whither by force they conducted all the Counsellors and other of the Members they could meet with. During these violent proceedings there were several killed and wounded on both sides and the Troops, amounting to two thousand, were forced to retire. The Governor is much blamed for having neglected to give the proper orders (it is said he took no precaution

of any kind) to prevent a tumult which he might have expected would take place on the delivery of the Lettres de Cachet, though the populace had not before been at all disposed to be riotous.—

If the Duc de Clermont Tonnerre cannot justify his conduct upon this occasion he will be in the highest disgrace at Court : His house was entirely pillaged :—He will, it is reported, be replaced by M. de Faucourt (who has the Cordon Bleu and is a member of the Council of War) and orders will be immediately given for an additional number of Troops to march into that Province.

Another account says that the Mountaineers made a descent upon the Troops and endeavoured but without effect to seize the Arsenal and to take possession of the Palais ; that several were killed and wounded on both sides, amongst the rest two or three Officers, and that the Governor's House was pillaged.

These accounts do not differ materially, and either of them proves sufficiently that the confusion at Grenoble must have been truly alarming, and embarrassing to Government in a very great degree.

The accounts from Rennes mention that everything was quiet there : the Comte de Thiard, report says, is hourly expected at Paris.

The Archbishop of Aix and the Maréchal de Beauvau, Governor General of Provence, presented to His Majesty last Sunday a Memorial from the States, praying redress, in that the privileges of that Province are affected by the new Laws : His Majesty received the Deputation very graciously and made answer that he would pay the greatest attention to their representations.

The States of Britanny also by their Deputies presented Remonstrances on Tuesday last to the same effect, but in much stronger language: His Majesty's answer was as favourable as they could have expected.

Mons. de Espremesnil informs his Father-in-law in a Letter he has lately written to him that so far from being allowed the Isle St. Marguerite at large, as a Place of confinement, he is shut up in a room in the Castle of not more than fifteen feet square.

I send your Lordship herewith a Despatch from Sir Robert Ainslie which I received last Tuesday : it is dated the 15th of April : Mons. de Montmorin has letters of the 19th of that month, and the Captan Pacha had not then left Constantinople.

The Emperor has been slightly indisposed but is quite recovered.

All is quiet here : the Guards still remain in possession of the avenues leading to the Courts of Justice.

By information received from different Parts, out of sixty-seven Bailiwickes in the Kingdom seventeen only act under the new regulations.

The Arrête of the Committee of the Assembly of the Clergy is drawn up and, as soon as the King's pleasure is known, it will be presented.

It is said to be conceived in very strong language and to contain animadversions upon all those points of Government that have of late been intended to be carried into execution, as well as upon the State of the Nation in general.

It is said that Marmontel and the Abbé Maury are employed by Government to draw up a State of Affairs or rather of the disputes between the Court and the Parliaments.

This Publication it is expected will soon appear and is waited for with no small degree of impatience.

His Majesty went this morning to visit the Hospital of Invalids in this City.

A new Cone was sunk at Cherbourg a few days ago.

Their Majesties will return to Versailles next Sunday.—the Dauphin still remains at Meudon ; His Royal Highness's State of health continues much the same as it was.

The Duc de Normandie is perfectly well.

It is said that Monsieur and the Comte d'Artois will visit the Camp intended to be formed in the autumn.

P.S. The Baron de Breteuil's resignation is still much talked of.

36. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
19 June 1788.

The account, which I had the honor to send your Lordship last week, of the tumults at Grenoble was, as I have since found, much exaggerated in some particulars, though it is very certain that a most serious disturbance has taken place in that Capital : no account of this affair having been given by authority, I know nothing but by common report which states that Mons. de Tonnerre, upon receiving the King's Orders for the Banishment of the Parliament, imprudently signified the same to the Magistrates in the middle of the day, when the alarm was given by the ringing of Bells and sounding the Tocsin, upon which the Populace immediately assembled (it happening to be Market-day the number of them was greatly increased) and proceeded to the Governor's House which they afterwards pillaged : Having got possession of the Keys of the House they took them to the Premier President and obliged the Magistrates to hold a Parliament there. Mons. de Tonnerre being present the whole time ; the Military felt themselves much scandalized by this insult upon the King's authority ; however the result of the sitting was nothing more than a formal Protestation against all innovations in their Constitution, and a Letter, conceived in very respectfull terms, addressed to the King, which his Majesty received a few days ago.

It is however by no means the intention of Government to give way to any Remonstrance but on the contrary to enforce all the new Regulations without exception. The Populace did certainly make an attempt upon the Arsenal, but it is not true that they got possession of it, three or four Peasants lost their lives on the occasion but none of the Soldiers were killed.

At the first alarm by the ringing of the Bells, the country people in the neighbourhood attempted to throw themselves into the Town, but the Commanding Officer had the precaution to take such measures as frustrated this attempt and thereby prevented the fatal consequences that in all probability would otherwise have ensued.

Six Regiments, four of Infantry and two of Chasseurs are to be sent into that Province, and will arrive there the beginning of next month.

No new Commandant is yet named for Grenoble in the room of the Duc de Clermont Tonnerre, but it is generally believed that either Mons. de Faucourt or the Baron de Viosmenil will be appointed to succeed him, the former of these two Officers has been much indisposed lately.

There has since been a slight affray at Grenoble occasioned by the refusal on the part of the Populace there to surrender certain parts of which they had taken possession in the Town and neighbourhood; they were however forced by the military to abandon them.

The orders for the Banishment of the Parliament of Besançon were executed without the least disturbance.

All is quiet here at present, but the Chatelet persists in not admitting the new Laws, and the Swiss and French Guards continue to surround the Palais.

Rennes also is at this time in a state of tranquility, but we hear from Vannes, a large Town upon the coast in Lower Britanny, that the Gentry in that neighbourhood are determined to oppose the King's authority to the last extremity, and the bringing that part of the country to obedience will be attended with more trouble and embarrassment to Government than would that of any other district in France on account of its being divided into small inclosures, added to which, whereby the difficulty would be still greater, the Peasants are as little acquainted with the French language as they are with the English or German.

The Comte de Thiard is to remain at Rennes, several Regiments are on their march towards that Province in order to form a Camp there in the autumn.

Report says that the Parliament of Aix, having received advice of Mons. de Camaran's approach to that City had assembled extraordinarily and had come to a resolution of rejecting every offer from Government that should be short of their entire re-establishment.

At Dijon the same principles are adhered to, but I do not hear of any other act of violence except that of a Cavalier de Maréchaussée who had charged the People with his Sabre, but who, to appeaze them, has since been put into Prison.

Notwithstanding the violences which have taken place at Grenoble I do not apprehend that they will be carried to that height in any other part of the Kingdom, the number of Troops in the King's Service being sufficient to keep other Places in awe. It should seem that there exists at present a kind of understanding between the Gens de Robe and the Nobility and that their object is to lessen the authority of the King: but the People in general do not seem inclined to favor the Alliance, by which, it is by no means clear to them that in any event of the struggles they would be gainers thereby.

During all this anarchy the Revenues of the Kingdom cannot but suffer extremely though it must be difficult to make any calculation of the loss to Government.

Three millions and a half are said to have been employed in keeping up the Funds which however support themselves but feebly.

Some stocks rose a few days ago, but have fallen since.

His Majesty received on Sunday last the Remonstrances of the Clergy: They were presented by the Archbishop of Narbonne and the Archbishop of Rheims.

The particular points which were the object of these Remonstrances have not yet transpired, but it is suspected that they contain expressions little adapted to the present moment, for it is certain that His Majesty received the Deputies very coolly and said that He should consider of a proper answer to give them.

An account, which may be depended upon, has been received here from Vienna that the Emperor has for the present totally abandoned the design of laying siege to Belgrade: Preparations had been made and everything was in readiness to begin the attack upon that Fortress on the 26th of last month, but on the 25th orders were given for cutting away the temporary Bridges across the Save, and His Imperial Majesty appears now by this step to be decided on a defensive war.

The French Court is, I understand, satisfied with the apologies that have been offered by the States-General for the insults that Mons. de St. Priest's Attendants had suffered from the populace in Holland.

Letters from Cherbourg mention that a Hurricane equally violent, as it was uncommon at such a season of the year, and which lasted three days, had, on the 7th inst., forced on shore the Cone which was sunk on the 5th, and that that also, which was placed on the 20th of May had suffered very considerably. This accident will probably stop the progress of two other Cones which it was intended should be sunk about the 22nd of this month.

The Squadron of evolution, commanded by the Marquis de Nieuil, consisting of two Ships of the Line (l'Illustre and le Léopard) of 74 guns each, some Frigates and Corvettes, were expected to sail from Brest the 8th of this month.

The Ambassadors from Tippo Sultan arrived at Toulon the 9th inst. It will be sometime before they can reach Paris, as they are to be received with great magnificence at every considerable Town in the way hither. This Embassy will probably be a very heavy expense to the Court of Versailles.

I mentioned to your Lordship in my despatch of last week that Mons. and the Comte d'Artois would visit the encampments this year : it is now said, with some degree of authority, that His Majesty has signified the like intention.

I send your Lordship, inclosed herewith, a Journal de Paris containing the particulars of His Majesty's reception at the Hospital of the Invalids in this City. Louis XV never visited that Establishment owing to an etiquette ; it being thought not allowable for the King to dispense with the attendance of His Body Guards. His Majesty however upon entering the Precincts of the Hospital dismissed them and ordered a Guard of Invalids to attend Him during the time He staid there. The Queen proposes to visit that Hospital soon.

His Majesty has expressed a desire to see also His Botanical Garden and likewise His Library for which purpose some day in next week will be appointed.

Their Majesties returned to Versailles last Sunday, but the Foreign Ministers did not go there on Tuesday....

DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
2 July 1788.

On the 25th of Last Month the Parliament of Rouen passed some very strong resolutions, the purport of which declares all those infamous who shall accept of any Place or charge in the new Courts of Law. His Majesty is also therein prayed to dismiss those Ministers who have been the advisers of the pernicious Edicts which have brought the Country into its present state of disorder: Mons. de Lamoignon is particularly pointed at and his removal required. The same disgrace attends this Parliament as others have already experienced, and the Members of it are accordingly exiled. I have not heard that any difficulties attended the execution of His Majesty's Orders, though the mass of the People in Normandy are very hostile to the late measures of Government: their disaffection however is not likely to shew itself 'till towards the latter end of the year, the usual time of collecting the Taxes.

In Britanny *La Commission intermediaire* which consists of the Nobility, Clergy and Tiers-Etats (Citizens) have voted a very spirited Remonstrance to the King, which His Majesty has refused to receive.

The Deputies who are charged with it, and who have sent a Copy of it to every one of the Ministers, continue to solicit an audience of His Majesty but it is not probable that it will be granted to them.

In these Remonstrances the Archbishop of Sens is treated with great severity; very strong expressions being made use of "to mark the danger a King is liable to who admits to His Councils a Man, such as the Archbishop is described to be, whose abilities never were sufficiently conspicuous in the eyes of the Nation to justify his advancement to the Post he fills, but who by mere intrigue has so managed to place himself at the head of a great Nation while it must ever best suit his private interest to conceal from His Sovereign the true State of His Kingdom."

Though everything is apparently quiet at Rennes, the Common people take every occasion of shewing their disaffection to Government and their abhorrence of the late innovations : a remarkable instance of this disposition has very lately appeared. In the town of Rennes there is an equestrian Statue of Louis XIV : it has been asserted and spread about by some evil-minded Persons there that the Scepter with which that Monarch is represented has fallen within the last month more than six inches, and it is moreover said that one night the horse sweated drops of blood.

I should not venture to take notice of a story so incredible and absurd, had I not been assured by those who have very lately come to Paris from that neighbourhood that the people there are so enthusiastic, and at the same time so zealous in defense of their Privileges, which they consider as invaded by the new Regulations, that their credulity upon this occasion seems to have brought them to a level with the inhabitants of the most uncivilized Parts of the World : it serves at least to shew that no Artifice is left untried to inflame the Populace, and more than common exertions will be necessary to bring to a right sense of their duty a People in whom an extreme degree of ignorance is combined with a sort of principle of disaffection.

It appears to be the plan of Government undoubtedly to curtail the power of the Parliament, but by no means its intention to invade the Franchises and Privileges of any of the Provinces, a proof of which has occurred within these few days in regard to the County of Bearn, for the Deputies from that Province were extremely well received by the Minister and are likely to obtain the redress they ask with every assurance, they can wish, that no attack whatsoever upon their Constitution is intended ; it is even certain that the Duc de Guiche, as Seigneur de Gramont, and principal Person in that County, is to be sent with full powers to reinstate things in their former position with a view to quiet the minds of the People. If the like measures were taken in regard to the rest of the Provinces the People probably would not interest themselves, as they now begin to do, in the fate of the Parliaments: some of the new Regulations being very favorable and really

advantageous to the Community at large, by facilitating the decision of petty Law-Suits at much less expense than before, to which may be added the abolishing *la Sellette* and superseding the immediate execution of Criminals. It must however be observed that if Government has any design to sooth the People into acquiescence, no time is to be lost, for the spirit of resistance is making hasty strides throughout the Kingdom, the difficulty is daily increasing, and, which makes the matter still more serious, it is certain that some of the Regiments have already shewn great reluctance to act against their Fellow-Citizens.

As yet no blood has been spilt, excepting at Grenoble : this, at Rennes, has been the happy effect of that extreme moderation of temper and cautious conduct which the Comte de Thiard displayed during a most critical period of two days, while not only his own life was in imminent danger but the lives of thousands depended upon the measures which his judgement was occasionally to dictate.

The French and Swiss Guards still continue to occupy the avenues leading to the Parliament House. The Maréchal de Stainville left Paris last Monday to take possession of his command in Alsace.

Troops are sent into the interiour Parts of Dauphiné to keep the People in awe there ; they find great difficulty in procuring subsistence in such a mountainous Country.

Fresh reinforcements have been sent to all those parts where there exists any apprehensions for the public safety. Of the thirteen Parliaments, nine are in exile—viz, those of Grenoble, Rennes, Pau, Besançon, Metz, Nancy, Dijon, Toulouse and Rouen : those of Paris, Bordeaux, Aix and Douay remain, but they have all protested against the new Laws.

The Assembly of the Clergy has finally resolved upon increasing their usual supply to Government one tenth, during the two ensuing years, which will produce about 900,000 livres each year : the *Don Gratuit* extraordinary will therefore amount to 1800,000 livres, instead of eight millions, the sum demanded by the King's Commissary.

This Assembly has been occupied for some days past in preparing a Memorial in which will be proposed a Revisal of the observations and Representations to His Majesty upon the Edict of the Non-Catholics.

The Ambassadors of Tippoo Sultan are daily expected to arrive in this City. Great care will, I conclude, be taken to prevent any impressions being given to these People that can in any shape diminish their ideas of the Power and authority of the Sovereign of this Country, as the confidence of Tippoo Sultan might be lessened was He to be made acquainted with the real State of Affairs in France. The account of the reception of the Ambassadors at Toulon is in the Journal de Paris of the 30th of June, which I have the honor to send your Lordship, as well as that of the 29th which give the particulars of Her Majesty's reception at the Hospital of Invalids last Monday sennight.

The Brother-in-law of the Dey of Tripoli with eight or ten Persons belonging to him have been at Paris during the last ten days, the object of his mission is to go as Minister to the States-General at the Hague.

Mr. Jefferson, the American Minister, here, says that his last Letters from America bring him accounts that Maryland had acceded to the new Constitution. Washington informs him that there is no doubt as to the six Provinces that have hitherto held out, that they will also follow the example of Maryland.

I have great reason to hope from the tenor of Mons. de Montmorin's language to me last Tuesday that there is a favorable disposition in His Most Christian Majesty's servants to accommodate matters respecting the commercial inconveniences that have lately arisen. It is reported that smuggling is of late very much increased in Normandy and Britanny owing to a mistaken idea, which prevails, that no Courts of Law whatever will act.

There are various conjectures of the real situation of the Cones at Cherbourg, though it is certain that they have lately sustained much damage: it is supposed that Mons. de Brienne is gone thither with a view to ascertain the precise state of those works in order to enable His Majesty to form some final resolution thereon, by

determining whether or not it will be adviseable to continue so expensive an undertaking.

No accounts have been received here in confirmation of the Victory mentioned by Sir Robert Ainslie in the latter of the two Despatches which I had the honor to forward to your Lordship last week.

The Ministers from the two Imperial Courts believe the intelligence to be premature. Mons. de Montmorin has received no accounts from Constantinople of later date than the 19th of April.

The Dauphin's state of health continues much the same. The Duc de Normandie has been slightly indisposed but is quite well again. Their Majesties will go on the 15th of this month to Trianon for a month.

The Marquis de Cordon, Ambassador from His Sardinian Majesty, was to have had his audiences of Their Majesties and of the Royal Family last Tuesday, but owing to some mistake His Excellency was not at Versailles: He will probably therefore be received on Sunday next...

38. Dorset to Camarthen.
17 July 1788.

A Storm of Thunder, Lightening and Hail which was experienced in the environs of Paris last Sunday morning, was so incommonly violent and has done so much mischief in those Parts where its full force was felt, that I am induced to give your Lordship such particulars of it as have come to my knowledge.

About 9 o'clock in the morning the darkness at Paris was very great and the appearance of the heavens seemed to threaten a dreadfull Storm, the clouds however dispersed in a short time, having, by what I have since learned, wasted their force in other parts, the accounts from where give a melancholy description of the effects of the hurricane which appears to have commenced in the Forest of Rambouillet: His Majesty on his return to Versailles (having hunted the preceding day in that Country) was obliged to stop on the road and to take shelter in a Farm-House. The Hail-stones that fell were of a size and weight never heard of

before in this Country some of them measuring sixteen inches in circumference and in some places, it is said, they were even much larger. Not far from St. Germains two Men were found dead upon the road, and a horse so much bruised that it was determined to kill him from a motive of humanity to put an end to his misery : it is impossible to give description in detail of the damage that has been done : Some of the largest Trees were torn up by the Roots ; all the corn and vines destroyed, windows broken and even some houses beaten down.

No computation has yet been made of the losses that have been sustained, but it is certain that a Country of at least thirty Leagues in circumference is entirely laid waste, and it is confidently said that from four to five hundred Villages are reduced to such great distress the inhabitants must unavoidably perish without the immediate assistance of Government : the unfortunate Sufferers not only lose the crops of the present year but of three or four years to come, the vines being entirely cut up.

It is remarkable that the Storm separated a little on the other side of Versailles, passing on to the right and to the left, so that the force of it was not felt at that Place anymore than at Paris, where however a few windows in the Faubourg St. Antoine were broken by the hail : but Raincy, the Duc d'Orleans Country-Seat where he passed the latter part of his Exile, about two leagues from this Capital, is totally destroyed : the damage done to the House alone is computed at £2000 Stg.

Chantilly, l'Isle d'Adam, and all the neighbouring Country has also suffered very greatly.

A Place near Paris, called Montreuil famous for its wall-fruit is totally demolished.

There not having appeared any authentic printed account of the various damages that were occasioned by this storm, I can mention only such few particulars as I have been able to collect in addition to the imperfect account given in the Journal de Paris of last Tuesday which I have the honor to send your Lordship.

The order for the Russian Minister to leave Stockholm has not failed to create much alarm and uneasiness at this Court, and is

particularly embarrassing at this moment: there is indeed more surprise, not to say dissatisfaction manifested on occasion of the conduct of His Swedish Majesty than may perhaps be prudent to discover at this juncture.

The Ambassadors from Tippoo Sultan arrived here last night, and are lodged at a House lately occupied by Mons. Neckar in the Rue Bergère, Faubourg Montmartre.

The Dauphin's health continues much in the same state. The Duc de Normandie is quite well.

Their Majesties went to Trianon last Tuesday and proposed to remain there a month.

It is almost certain that the Court will not remove to Fontainbleau this Autumn.

39. Dorset to Carmarthen.
21 July 1788.

There is news that the Maréchal de Vaux, who has been lately appointed to the command of all the Southern Provinces, arrived the 14th of this month at Grenoble, but not (as it is said) to supersede the Duc de Clermont Tonnerre.

The Mayor of Grenoble a Person much esteemed on account of his moderation and Prudence in the present troubles and on whom the Duc d'Orleans had prevailed to continue in office at the instance of M. de Clermont and the Intendant of Dauphiny was lately (according to the last Letters) conducted under a strong Guard to a *Chateau-fort* in the neighbourhood of Grenoble.

According to late accounts from Thoulouse it is reported that about an hundred Persons of the Noblesse of that City had forced the *Chambre de Conseil* and had driven from thence the Capitoul, who had been placed there by the Minister's Order, and that some violent resolutions had been entered into by that Body. The Account which was received last night from Rennes mentions that upon the arrival of the news of the imprisonment of the twelve Deputies from the Nobility of that Province the Members of the *Commission intermediaire* set out immediately for Versailles for the purpose of interceding in the name of that Province in behalf of

the Prisoners. In all probability this Body of Magistrates will arrive either this night or to-morrow, but I cannot think that they will venture to present themselves at Versailles so suddenly, but will think proper to wait for some assurance from the Minister that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to receive them.

It is confidently reported that private Letters received this day by the Post from Rennes mention that the Comte de Thiard has left that Place, and has encamped with his Troops in that neighbourhood.

There is not, I am inclined to believe, any foundation for the report that the Regiment of Bassigny had been broken.

M. de Clermont Galleyrande is gone to Rennes as second in command, the Duc de Luynes being on account of ill health unable to attend his duty.

The damage done by the late Storm is prodigious: Many villages have suffered very considerably, and some are totally destroyed.

I send your Lordship the Journal de Paris of Saturday last which contains a short account of the effects of this dreadfull calamity; nothing authentic relating to it has appeared since: it is computed that from twelve to fifteen hundred Villages have suffered more or less damage.

The Prince de Condé set out this day for Flanders to review some of the Regiments which are to form the Camp that He is to command this autumn: His Majesty will also finally determine upon a proper spot for the encampment which it is supposed will be in the neighbourhood of St. Omer's . . . . . .

40. Dorset to Carmarthen.
24 July 1788.

Yesterday the Baron de Breteuil resigned his Place of one of the Secretaries of State, this resignation is variously spoken of, some say that it was altogether voluntary on his part; others believe that the Garde des Sçeaux lately displeased with his opposition to the great and dangerous steps that have lately been taken, made a point of his dismission, this latter opinion seems to be not ill-founded, for the Baron de Breteuil has for some time past been

supposed to differ in opinion upon public affairs from both the Archbishop and the Garde des Sçeaux.

Mons. de Berkenroode, Ambassador at this Court from the States General, has communicated to me a *Note Ministérielle* which he had received from Their High Mightinesses, and which He presented last Tuesday to Mons. de Montmorin : the Note is conceived, as your Lordship will observe by the inclosed Copy, in nearly the same terms as that which your Lordship did me the honor to send me.

M. de Berkenroode expects to receive an answer from the Minister the latter end of this week, which He has reason to think will be equally satisfactory as that given to me.

As M. de Montmorin could not, when I first saw Him last Saturday upon the business relative to the intelligence that had been received from India, call to mind at what time the Corvette sailed from France, I now give your Lordship an account of what that Minister's recollection enabled him to say upon the subject when I was with him on Tuesday :—His Excellency informed me that three vessels have been dispatched from Brest to the Comte de Conway since the end of August 1787.

The first sailed by order of the Maréchal de Castries : the second He Himself sent in September (after the resignation of the Maréchal de Castries) and the third in the beginning of November, which he thinks could not have arrived at Pondicherry so early as February. This last Vessel, Mons. de Montmorin assured me carried, in consequence of the Declarations which have been signed between the two Courts, counter-orders to desist from any operations by Sea or by Land, which might have been entered upon in pursuance of former Instructions. As your Lordship mentions the arrival of only two vessels, I am inclined to believe that the last mentioned vessel was not arrived when the accounts left India, and that the officer, from whom Sir Arch. Campbell received his information, had been mis-informed in regard to the shortness of the Passage of the Vessel he speaks of, as well as the date of her leaving Brest.

The Members of the *Commission Intermédiaire* whom in my

Despatch, No. 50, I mentioned as being on their way from Britanny, arrived on Monday at Pontchartrein (within three Leagues of Versailles) where it was signified to them from his Majesty that they would incur His Royal displeasure if they should take up their abode either at Versailles or at Paris, but that they were at liberty to remain at St. Germain's, Neuilly, or St. Denis, which last Place these Magistrates have fixed upon and yesterday they took up their residence there accordingly. They have since been given to understand that they must wait His Majesty's further commands, but it is generally thought that their Remonstrances will be received and that Government will take this opportunity to propose some conciliatory terms to Britanny ; in the meanwhile it is certain that the Maréchal de Stainville, who arrived from Strasbourg on Monday last, will be appointed Commander-in-Chief in that Province, in which the Comte de Thiard will of course have leave to return to Paris. I had been misinformed in regard to the Comte de Thiard's having left the Town of Rennes, and encamped with his Troops in that neighbourhood, for I am since assured that he has never quitted his Post there from the time of his first arrival at that Place.

In addition to the List I sent your Lordship of those who, by signing the Remonstrances from Britanny, have experienced the effects of His Majesty's displeasure, the Marquis de Séran, Governor to the two sons of the Comte d'Artois, has received notice that he must not for the present appear at Court. The Marquis de la Fayette is not struck off the List of General Officers, as I mentioned last week by mistake, he is only not to be employed this year as Inspector, to which command he had been appointed. Mons. de Boisgelin's Place is not yet disposed of, but it is expected that one of his nephews will be named to it by His Majesty though not immediately. La Marquise de Mailly, Daughter of the Duc de Fitz-James, is appointed Dame du Palais to Her Majesty in the room of the Duchesse de Praslin.

The Duc de Guiche is on his return from Pau, his mission not having been attended with any good effect : He has been treated with the greatest attention and civility, but the Members of the

Parliament and the Nobility of that Province declined entering into any discussion with him on the object of his mission.

The high opinion entertained of the Maréchal de Vaux induces People to conclude that he will soon bring the Southern Provinces to obedience, this experienced Officer is a severe disciplinarian, one of his first steps has been to forbid the wearing of cockades, which had become universal at Grenoble, this Order extends to Persons of both Sexes of whatever condition, and some of the lower class of women have been punished for persisting to wear cockades in defiance of it. In consequence of the Maréchal de Vaux's taking upon himself so extensive a command most of the Governors in those Provinces avail themselves of the opportunity to leave their Governments : M. de Clermont Tonnerre has, it is said, left Grenoble, and M. de Camaran, (Governor of Provence) is already arrived at his Country-House in this neighbourhood.

There have lately been some warm debates at the assembly of the Clergy upon the subject of non-Catholics : the Edict respecting them has been discussed and it may perhaps, at a convenient time, be recommended to His Majesty to annul the Edict entirely or at least to order a revision of this Body, (who) it should seem, have a wish to remain some time longer together, but it is expected that His Majesty will dismiss them next Sunday.

The Guard at the Palais is still continued.

The Ambassadors from Tippoo Sultan have not yet shewn themselves publicly, not thinking it right to appear 'till they shall have been at Court, which must yet be deferred sometime longer as His Majesty does not intend to receive them before He returns from Trianon, which will not be 'till the 15th of next month ; in the meantime their Excellencies are not very well pleased with their situation and the little attention they have hitherto met with since their arrival at Paris.

They are however to be better lodged than they are at Present ; a part of the Hôtel de Soubise, which is soon to be sold, being taken for them and on Tuesday next M. de Luzerne, the Marine Minister, is to receive them to Dinner in Paris, when M. de Montmorin will also be present.

When the last Letters left Brest the Embarkation of the Irish Regiment of Walsh, destined for the Isles of France and Bourbon, was going on, and it is presumed that the Vessel which takes these Troops is actually at sea, unless she has been detained by contrary winds.

The same Letters mention that two vessels are fitting out in that Harbour, the destination of which is not known, but it is supposed they are intended to watch the English Squadron.

There is no news of any importance from either Vienna or Petersburg.

The Despatches, herewith inclosed, from Sir Robert Ainslie are just come to hand.

A report prevails that this country has agreed with Spain for a considerable Loan, but neither the sum nor the terms are known, it is however said that France will pay at least 10 P. Ct.

The loss sustained by the late Storm is computed at many Millions, not less than thirty millions on the King's account. The hurricane began in the neighbourhood of Blois and extended as far as Douay : the noise which was heard in the air previous to the falling of the immense hail-stones is said to have been beyond all description dreadfull.

P.S. It is said that M. de Brienne and M. de le Luzerne will be admitted Members of the Council this evening. I send your Lordship an account from Dijon.

41. Dorset to Carmarthen.
31 July 1788.

...The Parliament of Rennes assembled lately at a Château in the neighbourhood of that Place, and voted a Deputation of twelve of their Members to the King to solicit the release of their Fellow-Citizens still confined in the Bastile. However, it is not expected that His Majesty will receive a Deputation from a Body, which by reason of its present state of exile, cannot be allowed to have any validity ; nor is it likely that these Deputies will be permitted to remain at Paris. The Maréchal de Stainville will set out to-morrow

or next day with full powers for Britanny, having, at a Council of State held on Tuesday last, received his final Instructions.

The Maréchal de Vaux could not prevent the Nobility of Dauphiny from assembling in the neighbourhood of Grenoble, and that in consequence of their meeting, a string of new resolutions were entered into, and an Arrête published (which I have not yet been able to get) which is said to be from its general tenor more dangerous to the authority of the Court than any that has appeared, declaring in the most positive manner that it is not the intention of that Province to demand Redress merely of their own private grievances, or the re-establishment of their own Parliament alone, but of the general grievances of the Nation and the re-establishment of all the Parliaments. This spirit seems to have diffused itself through all the Provinces.

There is every reason to expect from the present complexion of affairs, that Government will be obliged to give way, and I am induced to think that the *Etats Généraux* will be assembled early in next year: indeed nothing but an absolute promise of assembling the Nation at an early period can restore tranquility to this country....

42. Dorset to Carmarthen.
7 August 1788.

I received your Lordship's Dispatch, No. 17, by Major last Friday. The sentiments expressed by your Lordship in regard to certain expressions contained in M. de Montmorin's answer to the *Note Ministérielle* are such as I expected you would entertain, and I was persuaded that at a convenient opportunity those expressions would be properly adverted to: it is however a great satisfaction to me to know that it is not your Lordship's wish to renew, at this moment, a discussion which need not at present be entered into, and which therefore could only tend to interrupt the harmony which now so happily subsists between the two Countries.

I have the honor to send your Lordship, inclosed, the King's Answer to the Deputies from the Commission Intermédiaire, in consequence of which they set out on their return home last

Saturday, without having much reason, from the tenor of His Majesty's Answer, to be satisfied with the result of their Mission.— The Maréchal de Stainville set out last Tuesday morning to take upon him the Command of the Troops in that Province.

Letters from Grenoble mention that the Maréchal de Vaux has been dangerous ill : late accounts however bring more favourable news of him saying that the Physicians had hopes of his recovery.

Orders have been sent to the Parliament of Pau to repair immediately to Paris : It is His Majesty's intention to reprimand that Body of Magistrates for having refused to pay obedience to the new Regulations, and for having continued to assemble in direct opposition to His Majesty's commands.

We are in daily expectation of an Arrêt du Conseil to fix the *Convocation des Etats Généraux* for May 1789 : It is become very necessary to name a period for that important Assembly, was it only to raise the public credit which at present is much on the decline ; the Funds continuing to fall every day : The Loan of 125 millions which was considered as the criterion of the Funds is now at 14 pr. ct. discount.

The Baron de Breteuil is retired to his country-seat about 20 leagues from Paris.

The report that the Archbishop of Sens was about to be named *Premier Ministre* was premature. As he is already so in fact, though without the name, it is not likely that He should wish to give any cause of jealousy to any of the other Cabinet Ministers.

The Comte de Brienne and M. de la Luzerne were admitted Members of the Privy Council last Monday and took their places at that Board accordingly.

The Dauphin still continues in a very weak State. Their Majesties will remove from Trianon to Versailles on Friday the 15th.

It seems now to be determined that the King will not visit the Camps this autumn as His Majesty had intended....

43. Hailes to Carmarthen.
11 August 1788.

Yesterday His Majesty received in great form the Ambassadors from Tippoo Sultan: The principal Apartments of the Palace of Versailles were filled with Spectators, and the Salon d'Hercules which was magnificently fitted up upon the occasion was occupied by Persons of rank of both Sexes and the foreign Ministers. Her Majesty was, during the ceremony, in a private box on one side of the Throne, with the Duke of Normandy, Madame her Daughter and Madame.

Madame la Comtesse d'Artois and Madame Elizabeth, His Majesty's sister, were in a box on the other side. Monsieur, and Mons. le Comte d'Artois and such of the Princes of the Blood as were present were with the King on an elevated Platform.

The Dauphin,[1] not being well enough to venture being confined in a hot room, was not present neither were the Duc of Orléans nor the Duke Penthiêvre.—The whole together formed a very fine sight.

The Ambassadors, three in number, approached the King with much dignity, when the first in rank, after presenting His Majesty with some pieces of gold, addressed Him in a short speech, which was repeated in the French language, by the Interpreter but in so low a tone of voice as not to be distinctly heard but by those who were very near; the Address as well as His Majesty's Answer, both of which I understand were merely complimentary, will, I am informed, be published. The presents, intended for Their Majesties, will be delivered in the course of a few days. The Foreign Ministers paid their respects to His Majesty yesterday, their attendance at Court will in consequence be dispensed with 'till next week.

The Indian Ambassadors dined yesterday with M. de la Luzerne: this day they will dine with the Principal Minister, and to-morrow with M. de Montmorin: They will return to Paris either on Wednesday or Thursday next: They are lodged during their stay

[1] Louis Joseph, eldest son of Louis XVI, died 1789.

at Court, at the King's Trianon, about an English mile distant from Versailles: It is said that they will certainly set out on their return home sometime in next Month.

On Friday last died the Maréchal Duc de Richelieu, in the 93rd year of his age; He is succeeded in his Title and Estates by his eldest Son the Duc de Fronsac, who has also His Father's Place of one of the First Gentlemen of the Chamber to the King.

The Maréchal is to be buried this Evening with great Funeral magnificence in this City.

The first stone of the new Bridge of Louis XV is to be laid this day by M. Marfontaine, Prêvot des Marchands, who is directed by His Majesty to perform that ceremony in His Name.—...

44. Dorset to Carmarthen.
14 August 1788.

I have the honor to send your Lordship the Edict (published last Monday) which fixes the Convocation of the Etats-Généraux for the 1st May 1789.

It might have been expected that this compliance with the wishes of the Nation would produce a general satisfaction and have a great effect upon the Minds of the People, but hitherto it seems to have operated very little in favour of Government, for the Funds, which is the only criterion of public faith, rose only two pr. ct. on the first day, and have continued sinking ever since, hence it is evident that the Principal Minister enjoys but a small share of the public confidence and that there still remains an apprehension, notwithstanding the solemn engagement conveyed by the King's Edict, that the Minister will yet have recourse to some subterfuge to postpone the important moment which, he thinks, may very likely prove fatal to the power He now enjoys.

It is beyond a doubt that both the Archevêque de Sens and the Garde des Sceaux have rendered themselves very obnoxious to a great part of the Nation, and that a strong opposition to the measures of Government will prevail, as well as every means

employed to inflame the minds of the people, so long as those two ministers are known to possess the confidence of their Sovereign.

The Maréchal de Stainville's arrival at Rennes was attended with an extraordinary circumstance. He requested that he might be lodged at the Hôtel de Ville, which was refused him, and he has been obliged to remain in the same house with M. de Thiard : The States say they will not admit the legality of the Maréchal's Orders, and accordingly refuse to acknowledge him as Commander-in-Chief, alledging that his Commission from the King has not been approved and registered by them in due form.

Such being the situation of things in that Province there seems to be no alternative and that force alone is the only means left to bring it to a sense of its duty.

Another Deputation from Britanny arrived here the day before yesterday, consisting of 54 Members, having the same object as the former ones—viz : to pray for a continuance of their privileges and to solicit the release of the twelve Deputies who are still confined in the Bastile : it is not however known whether His Majesty will receive this Deputation, but it seems to be the determined resolution of the States to continue to depute so long as the King avoids giving any positive answer to their prayer :

This perseverance on the part of the States is no small embarrassment to Government and may possibly be followed by very serious consequences.

Two of the most factious Bréton Gentlemen have lately made their escape and are supposed to be gone to England.

The Maréchal de Vaux has relapsed and very little hopes of his recovery are entertained.

He has gained the greatest respect for his character in the Country where he is, by the firmness and steadiness of his conduct in the execution of his orders : He has not however been able to change the determined resolution of the States to oppose the attempts made by Government to infringe their rights and privileges nor will they adopt in any degree the new System proposed for the Courts of Judicature.

The Ambassadors from Tippoo Sultan return this day from Versailles : the Presents which they have delivered to their Majesties are very trifling, consisting only of a few Muslins, some Diamonds of small value and a few Pearls.

In my frequent conversations with M. de Montmorin that minister has uniformly assured me that these Ambassadors have not offered, nor does he believe that they are charged with any proposals whatever on the part of their Sovereign, that hitherto their mission has been wholly complimentary, and that he himself is persuaded there is nothing to be brought forward by them which need alarm us or excite our jealousy, nor does he conceive that we can have any real ground of suspicion, considering the present state of India : by this expression I imagine M. de Montmorin intended to convey that since the revolution in Holland, things in that quarter of the World wear a very different aspect.

Upon the whole the Minister wishes it to be understood that the System of this Court is to be upon good terms with us, nor indeed does there seem to be any reason for doubting the sincerity of his professions respecting India, if we are to judge by the conduct of the Comte de Conway, and from the accounts which your Lordship has received from Madras, by which it appears that that Government seems determined to maintain a line of conduct very different from that of his Predecessors. M. de Montmorin has informed me that the last Letters from Pondicherry are dated the 8th of February and that no mention is made of any expedition being at that time intended by the Comte de Conway: He further added that, as soon as His Court should receive advices from that Quarter, he would lose no time in transmitting them to England for the information of His Majesty.

I have not, with all the enquiries I have made, been able to discover that there is any place of rendezvous, according to the report, of which I took notice to your Lordship last week, for engaging people to enter into the service of Tippoo Sultan :

All that I have as yet been able to learn is that the Ambassadors have hired some few to attend them to India in quality of Servants, and it is said that they have solicited permission to

engage some handicraftsmen, which it is not unlikely Government will grant so far as to allow them a supply from the different Prisons in this Metropolis.

I send your Lordship the account (though I understand a similar one has already appeared in one of the Dutch Gazettes) that has been received here of the proceedings of the Russian and Turkish Fleets in the Black Sea, as well as the operations of the Russian Army against Oczakow which Place, it is expected, will soon fall into the Enemy's hands.

M. de Montmorin has communicated to me an account from Vienna, which had been received by Prince de Kaunitz from Petersbourg of the action between the Russians and Swedes in the Baltic, in which the Russians represent themselves to have had greatly the advantage, having taken the Vice-Admiral and obliged the rest of the Fleet to take Shelter in the Port of Sveaborg: this account differs so much from that given by Mons. de Staal that it is difficult to form a precise judgement of the event of that battle.

I shall avail myself of His Majesty's gracious permission to return home for a short time, and I accordingly propose to set out for England on Saturday evening or Sunday morning at latest.

P.S. The Ambassadors will certainly return to India in the course of next Month and will take their passage in a Frigate from Brest.

The Government of Guienne vacant by the death of the Maréchal de Richlieu is not yet disposed of:

The Maréchal de Segur, and the Maréchal de Noailles Mouchy are mentioned as Candidates for that important command...

45. Hailes to Carmarthen.
21 August 1788.

The step lately taken by the Ministers in fixing the Convocation of the States General for the 1st of May next, has not produced the effect that was expected, and the subsequent Arrêt de Conseil for the liquidation of the Offices suppressed in the Parliaments having tended to confirm the Public in its opinion that there remained no hope of accommodation with the Magistracy, the

funds, which at first had a momentary rise, fell immediately below the point at which they had been before those measures took place.

But if these Acts of the Government have not allayed, in any degree, the general fermentation, nor inspired any confidence that which was made public on Tuesday last has thrown everybody into the greatest alarm. It would be sufficient to inclose the Arrêt which bears date the 16th of this month in order to enable your Lordship to judge of its consequences : the failure of the engagements of Government they formally announced, although it may have been expected by many, yet it seems to have excited nearly as much surprise as consternation.

This operation is considered as a forced Loan, and is supposed to be fully adequate to the purpose of the Minister as far as it may be regarded as a Substitute for the second part of the gradual and successive Loan, established by the Edict of November 1787.

The suspension alone of the reimbursements for a year, affords about fifty two Millions of Livres : the amount of the other sums retained by the delivery of the Notes of the Treasury for two fifths etc. is not precisely known, but it is supposed that that part of the operation secures, at least, a resource of fifty millions more.

So great was the alarm occasioned by this Arrêt, on its publication at the Exchange, that the Loan of 125 millions which had always been considered favourably by the Public was done at 30 per cent. loss: Annuities were sold at four years purchase, and the Shares of the Caisse d'Escompte fell suddenly 200 Livres per share. A general panic seized the People with respect to the notes of the Caisse d'Escompte themselves, and thousands pressed forward to convert their paper into money.

Some of the Directors of that establishment fearing the consequences of the sudden discredit of their Notes, applied immediately to the Government for its interposition (others pretend that it was of the mere motion of the Ministers themselves) and yesterday two Arrêts de Conseil (copies of which are herewith transmitted your Lordship) were obtained and posted up in all the Quarters of the Town.

The evening before the resolution was come to to force the circulation of these Notes, a meeting was called of the Principal Bankers, and though some of the best heads were of opinion that a little courage was only necessary to restore confidence (it being well known that the funds of the Caisse were equal to the Paper in circulation) they were overruled, and it was agreed to invoke that authority which, in such cases, seldom fails to increase the suspicions and distrust of the people.

All these disasters are attributed by the Court (and so much indeed is insinuated in the preamble of the Arrêt of the 16th) to the Parliaments ; to their secret practices and their open opposition to every reasonable measure of Government : they continue to be treated as ambitious usurpers of the King's Authority acting merely from interested motives, and covering their views of exemption from all contributions to the State, under the pretext of vigilance and care for the public safety :—on the other hand dispersed though these Bodies are for the most part at present, they do not want for Advocates and the tide of popular opinion continues to run strongly in their favour :—Every day brings forth some new publication either for or against the present measures ; but amongst the great variety that have appeared, none have attracted so much the attention of people as a Memorial signed by M. Beogasse, in answer to one published lately by Beaumarchois. The Author has introduced a very strong picture of the calamities occasioned by the suspension of justice throughout the Kingdom, and his address to the Sovereign, upon this occasion, has been pronounced by M. Necker (a partial testimony indeed, at present) to be a Chef-d'œuvre of eloquence and intrepidity.

But I beg leave to refer your Lordship to the copy of this Tract, which, though severely proscribed, I have been able to procure, and have forwarded to you by this day's Messenger.

The negotiations with the Parliaments are supposed however to continue, and in the meantime, great offers have been made to the *Grand Conseil* to induce that Tribunal to recognise the new Criminal Code, and to proceed to the Trial of the immense number of offenders of all descriptions that crowd the Gaols of

this City : but I am assured that the first President M. de Nicolai, has in the name of his whole Company, positively refused to accede to the proposals of the Court on any terms whatever.

Fifty four Deputies are arrived from Britanny, within these few days, in detachments, at Paris ; but, although they have been expected for some time, it does not appear that any resolution has been taken concerning them.

The distant Provinces have not furnished any news of importance lately ; the Assembly of the Nobility of Dauphiny, it is expected will meet on the first of September and that new and strong resolutions will be entered into by them.

A refusal to pay all taxes is talked of as likely to be the consequence of so many exertions of authority ; a situation truly alarming ! for though the Government may flatter itself with the resources it has in retaining from the monied part of the Public that which is their due, it unfortunately sets the example to another part of the Nation to withhold their contributions ; and it may, in the end, prove a more easy operation (as in the present instance) to keep back what is owed, than to collect what may be owing ; especially at a time when the aid of the Ministers of Justice cannot be called in, and when no small degree of disaffection has crept into the coercive part of Government.

Tippoo Saib's Embassy having gratified the public curiosity as a Show, and having served the purpose perhaps of diverting in some measure the attention of people from objects of a more important nature, enquiries are now made into the object and utility of such a mission. The speeches of the Ambassadors to the King, at their audience, on Sunday Se'nnight, together with his Answer were expected to have been made public ; but all that can be collected is, that propositions of some kind or other are submitted to the examination of the Ministers ; and so much indeed the King was distinctly heard to promise in His short reply to the addresses that were made to him :—

This Embassy, set on foot by some interested individuals in India, at a moment when the affairs of France were different from what they now are, might have passed without censure had it

arrived at a more prosperous conjuncture ; but in her present state of humiliation, such a parade seems rather to excite ridicule than respect, and even M. de Montmorin himself cannot forbear speaking with some degree of contempt of the whole measure.—It is nevertheless certain that steps have been taken by these people to engage Artisans, of all descriptions, and even soldiers to accompany them on their return to India, which, it is said, will take place in September next. M. d'Oenhausen a Hessean Gentleman in the service of Portugal, and Minister from thence to the Court of Vienna, happening lately to be in conversation with one of the Ministers here, who was ignorant of the service to which he belongs, dropt inconsiderately, that the English in India would have found themselves much embarrassed (had the war broke out, as was expected last autumn) if the French had got possession of Trincomale on one side, and *of Goa* on the other, through the means of Tippoo Saib....

This circumstance M. d'Oenhausen mentioned confidentially to me a few days ago, and I have not thought it altogether unimportant to communicate it to your Lordship.

Involved as this Court is in a complication of internal distresses, it can of necessity pay but a secondary attention to all foreign Affairs ; and it will no doubt, esteem itself fortunate to be able to preserve that system of Neutrality which can only afford a prospect of domestic arrangement.

The Court of Stockholm having, as I am informed, thought proper to make application to that of Versailles for the Assistance stipulated by Treaty, the answer was, that the fact of aggression on the part of Sweden had been so clearly proved to all Europe, that the aid of France could not, in any shape, be demanded as coming under the Casus foederis...

46. Hailes to Carmarthen.
26 August 1788.

The event which happened yesterday will, I flatter myself, justify me in the step I take of forwarding this to you by a messenger extraordinary. Immediately after the publication of the Arrêt of

the 16th transmitted to your Lordship by the last Messenger, the clamor against the Principal Minister increased to a great degree, and on Saturday evening last it seemed to be generally the opinion that he would be shortly obliged to retire from his Post.

On Sunday morning (as I am confidently informed) the Imperial Ambassador waited upon M. Necker at his own house, and remained in conference with him from 9 o'clock till half past one. Nothing however appeared to be positively determined upon till yesterday, at the King's Levee, when notwitstanding it was the King's Saint's day when it is usual for the Ministers to be present to compliment him upon the occasion, the Archbishop of Sens was observed to be absent:—The Prevot des Marchands at the head of the Corporation of the City of Paris, and the Foreign Ministers having also been to pay their visit, as is usual, and not having been received, it was universally concluded that the Principal Minister was no longer in place. It was not, however, till about half past four o'clock in the afternoon that his resignation was given in. In the evening M. Necker waited upon the Queen, and this morning the King, who was to have gone to Ramboullet, remained to receive him at Versailles as Director General of the Finances and Minister of State. This great change has produced an extraordinary effect upon the Funds, and the different Stocks have risen in a greater proportion than they had lately fallen. The Shares of the Caisse d'Escompte have got up this day from 3600 Livres to 4400. The Loan of 125 Millions which only three days since lost 30 per cent, now loses only 13 per cent. All other Stocks have gained in the same proportion.

The predilection of the Public or rather of the people is so great for M. Neckar that he was received on his return from Versailles with the loudest acclamations, and it is expected that there will be illuminations this evening, in consequence of this coming into office. The Archbishop of Sens, as it is generally said, is to have a Cardinals' hat and his nephew, the Abbey de Leominie, is to be appointed coadjutor to the Diocese of Sens. M. de Brienne, Minister of the War Department, offered yesterday to give in his resignation, but it was not accepted. The Garde des Sceaux con-

tinues (to the surprise of most people) in office. This is, as yet, all that is known with certainty respecting the changes that have taken place—but I hope to be able to furnish your lordship with more particulars concerning them by the messenger of Thursday. I have postponed the dispatching Lausun some hours, however, in the prospect of learning something more. M. de Montmorin, whom I saw yesterday, acquainted me with the news which he had lately received from India and of the instructions which he had sent to M. de Bartelemy in consequence of it. Count Conway, according to the Minister, was to have proceeded to Trincomale the 27th of February with 800 men, but he did not leave the coast till the 12 of March. M. de Montmorin renewed his assurances of the positive order that had been sent to that General to leave things on their former footing as soon as peace was known to be restored.

47. Hailes to Carmarthen.
28 August 1788.

The Resignation of the Archbishop of Sens has been followed by some circumstances not flattering to the Administration of that Prelate. On his leaving Versailles, on Tuesday, the populace surrounded his carriage and insulted him with every reproachful epithet which they could bestow ; and in the evening he was burnt in Effigy at the Place Dauphine in Paris. The public, in general, who had been rather licentious in their Comments upon the conduct of the Archbishop while in Office, have since let loose their whole rage against him, and the mischief under which the Nation has groaned of late, is entirely ascribed to his arbitrary Counsels, and want of abilities in the management of affairs.

It must indeed be confessed (as far as reliance can be placed upon those who have been chiefly employed of late in matters of Finance) that he has betrayed the greatest insufficiency in that important branch of administration. But, if people, on the one hand, have condemned this Minister with some precipitation, the favor shown to the new one seems to be equally premature and exaggerated, a circumstance which perhaps ought not to be considered

as altogether advantageous, since nothing less than miracles are now, daily, expected from him.

The first moments of enthusiasm have certainly produced a great effect with respect to the Funds, and the hopes with which every one is buoyed up of the immediate revocation of the Arrêt of the 16th tend much to increase the general exultation. Illuminations, Bonfires, and mutual felicitations are observed in different parts of this City, while some great plan for the entire restoration of affairs, is expected to come shortly to light.

Many, however, less sanguine are apt to consider this elevation of the favorite of the people, either as a temporary resource of credit, till the Convocation of the States General, or else as an expedient to put off, and even perhaps entirely to prevent that Assembly's taking place. Should this latter conjecture be founded, and it should prove true in the end, that the Court has thought proper to make an option between *the object of its aversion*, and that of its apprehension, the embarrassment of the new Minister (who has certainly betrayed strong symptoms of eagerness to get into place and who will, of course, be desirous of maintaining himself there) may prove greater than he at first, in all probability, imagined. Certain it is that nothing can equal the fear of the Court of the consequences of the Nation's being assembled, and if any means can be devised to avoid the measure (the hope of which may be inspired by the momentary success of a popular Minister) there can be little doubt of its being resorted to.

In the meantime it is reported, tho' I know not with how much truth, that three specific conditions were made by M. Necker before he agreed to accept the direction of the Finances :—that is to say, the re-establishment of the Parliaments, the suspension of the Bailliages, and the forwarding as much as possible the meeting of the States.

It is from good authority that I can venture to assure your Lordship, that before M. Necker came into office, overtures had been made to him by the Principal Minister through the medium of the Duke de Nivernais who informed him that the King wished much that he should have a place in the administration.

M. Necker, without positively rejecting such proposals for a Coalition expressed his desire to know the King's pleasure by a few lines under his own hand ; that honor having been done him upon former occasions.

The Archbishop, after having impressed His Majesty with the necessity of placing M. Necker in the Department of Finances, prevailed upon him to signify his wishes to him in a short letter. The Answer, substantially was, that it was impossible to be of any service to His Majesty, as long as the Principal Minister should remain in Office :—And this answer I am credibly informed was sent without any comment, and simply under cover to the Archbishop by the King himself.

The subsequent negotiation, conducted by the Imperial Ambassador, I mentioned in my last to your Lordship, and the circumstance of snch a person's being employed has, I dare say, struck you as forcibly as all those to whose knowledge it has come.

The Archbishop of Sens does not quit the place he filled without great marks of the Royal favor, and, I am even assured of regret.

At the time of the Cardinal de Rohan's affair the sovereign was known to declare that the dignity of the sacred Colledge should never in future be admitted in His Kingdom, but this rule is now broken through, and a courier was certainly dispatched, a few days ago to Rome, for the purpose of obtaining a Hat.

I know not whether I may venture to risque a conjecture upon this occasion ; but the example of M. de Calonne, and the very violent resolutions of the Parliaments, in which this Minister was so repeatedly declared to be a Traitor to his country, are circumstances, which, added to apprehensions of the vengeance of the States, whose Convocation he has taken so much pains to prevent, make it not altogether impossible that he may have thought it necessary to shelter himself under a foreign dignity. Nor does the instance of the Cardinal de Rohan invalidate, in fact, such a notion; that Prelate having expressly waived his privilege as a foreign Prince, and having acknowledged the competence of the Parliament of Paris in his cause. But, be this as it may, a journey into Italy has certainly been determined upon by the Archbishop.

The Coadjutorship of the Diocese of Sens, bestowed on his nephew a very young man, is justly regarded as a singular mark of favor, and the place of Dame du Palais which the Queen has promised to Madame de Canisy a near relation of the family of Brienne makes it strongly presumed that the Principal Minister has been sacrificed to the discontent of the Nation, rather than to the disapprobation of His Sovereign.

I do not hear that any other changes have happened, though it is expected that the Garde des Sceaux and M. de Brienne cannot continue long in office. M. de Malesherbes, who had accepted a place in the Council against his inclination originally, and that only till the first of September, resigned on Sunday.

But a few days before this Revolution (for so it may be called) every (thing) wore a most alarming aspect. The rise in the price of bread having spread the apprehension of a revolt amongst the people of Paris, it was thought necessary to double the guards.

The grand Conseil too, having met to enregister a Declaration that relates to the criminal Code that was promulgated in the several Edicts that were forcibly received at the last Lit de Justice, the populace insulted those Magistrates, on their coming out of the Louvre, and severely beat one of the Counsellors.

This outrage was committed under the mistaken idea that the Grand Conseil had consented to receive, from the Court, an extension of its criminal jurisdiction, at the expense of the privileges of the Parliament of Paris. Nor are the accounts received daily from the provinces of a less alarming complexion,— At Pau the people have expelled the King's Troops entirely out of the Town, and every Citizen is under Arms.

The Nobility of Burgundy have sent Letters of Convocation to every one of its members in order to form a general assembly, and many Officers will be obliged to quit their Regiments to avoid being disowned by their Brethren. In Dauphiny, and other Provinces, no Taxes whatever can be collected, and accounts of some fresh act of Revolt and disobedience arrive every day from different parts of the Kingdom.

Amidst all this appearance of Anarchy, the Clergy, who at first,

from apprehension of an invasion of their Privileges, had presented strong remonstrances to the Sovereign, finding themselves secured in those privileges, by an Arrêt de Conseil which confirmed all the old ones that had been published in their favor, began to betray evident marks of attachment to the late Minister, and to prove in how clear a light they saw their Interest to be inseparable from that of the Throne, and of consequence, endangered by a National Assembly.

Should therefore the States General take place, it is not difficult to foresee what line of conduct will be pursued by that powerful part of the Nation....

48. Hailes to Carmarthen.
11 Sept. 1788.

Since I had last the honor of addressing your Lordship, the confusion and embarrassment of the Cabinet of Versailles (as I have good reason to believe) has not a little increased. The great and known impatience of M. Necker to come into Employment, and to arrive at the object of his constant aim and wishes, a place in the Council, has deprived him of the advantages, which it was expected he would have derived from that extraordinary degree of credit and popularity which has hitherto attended him.— The public (whose opinion now is of the greatest weight) begins already to perceive that he had no plan formed before he came into office, and that (although the necessity of the Court's consent to place him at the head of the Finances was so imperious as to give him an opportunity of making his own terms, and of appointing his own coadjutors in Office) he has not availed himself of his situation, nor has even been able to effect the removal from the Councils of His Most Christian Majesty, of the most obnoxious person in the Kingdom, the Garde des Sceaux, with whom a coalition could not fail to frustrate the good effects of his own personal reputation. M. de Lamoignon continues in Office, and everything tends to confirm us in the Opinion that his influence is still so great as to prevent the unconditional reinstatement of the Parliaments.

The apprehensions so naturally entertained by this person of the vengeance of those bodies, when once reassembled, and of the inflammatory resolutions so likely to be taken by them after their return, is a sufficient cause of embarrassment and such as tends, without doubt, to counteract all the salutary views of the new Minister of Finance.

The reestablishment of some sort of justice throughout the country is so intimately connected, indeed, with the collection of the Revenues, that no good or order can be expected without it.

To give your Lordship any detail of the proceedings of Government, at this juncture, with accuracy, would prove a very difficult task : plans that were adopted yesterday, are rejected to-day, and there is nothing invariable (if I may so say) but a constant change of measures and projects.

The most material object at present, is certainly the recall of the Parliaments ; but what was said to have been decided upon at the beginning of this week, is now, I understand, not very likely to take place....

Meetings of all the principal Members have lately been held ; but as they all (adhering firmly to their original principles) have determined upon returning upon no other than their antient footing, and with an entire revocation of the late Edicts, all the proposals of modification and mutual concession have proved without effect.—

It continues, notwithstanding, to be said that a Lit de Justice or a Séance Royale for the purpose of restoring the Parliaments, is to be held on Monday, or early in the next week.

In the mean time, a plan for a new Department in Government has been the subject of conversation : it has been said that the Duc de Châtelet was to be placed at the head of it, and that he was to become a kind of president, a principal Minister at the Assembly of the States General.

This Department, according to report, was to consist of the civil administration of all the provinces in the Kingdom, and those which, at present, come under other Departments, were to be consolidated and comprised under this new one. By others it has been circulated with no less confidence, that the Messenger that

was lately dispatched to M. de Châtelet in the country, carried an invitation to him to accept of the War Department.

I have heard it also affirmed in the most positive manner, that offers have been sent to the Cardinal de Bernis at Rome, of the place of Principal Minister, and this account, true or false, is built upon the known influence of Mesdames Adelaide and Victoria, the King's Aunts, and upon the favour which they have constantly shewn to that Prelate.

In proportion as the difficulties of Government have increased, the earlier Convocation of the States has been thought necessary; and it is now said that the 7th of January next is absolutely fixed for their meeting.—No steps however appear to have been yet taken towards the settlement of the Representation of the Kingdom, and it must be confessed that the nearer that Assembly comes into prospect, the more the difficulties of giving it a direction towards the welfare of the country at large, become apparent.

As yet no Minister, even in the tranquillity of the Closet, has been found equal to the Management of this disordered Empire; much less is it to be expected that so consummate a Statesman will rise up, as to be able to control the variety of passions, interests and factions, of which this national congress will naturally be formed.—M. Necker, exclusive of an embarrassed Elocution, has also the disadvantage of having lived much in retirement, surrounded by indulgent friends and flatterers, who receiving all his notions and opinions as from an oracle, have, in no shape, accustomed him to that freedom of discussion and contradiction which make up so principal a part of the Education of those who are fitted for the guidance of popular Assemblies.

With respect to the representation itself many difficulties (if it is to be well and fairly constituted) must necessarily arise. We have already heard that the French Colonies in the West-Indies have brought forward their claim to be represented: M. de la Luzerne to whom application has been made upon the subject, in admitting the justice of the demand, has been obliged to oppose the impossibility of any choice of representatives before the month of January next. To this it has been answered, that, as the

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principal Proprietors of Lands in the Islands are Resident in France, the elections may be made amongst themselves upon the spot.

With respect to the Provinces throughout the Kingdom, it may in general be remarked that in the present eagerness of all men to have a share in public affairs, the Assembly, which is so soon to be called, cannot be expected to bear much resemblance to those convened formerly in a precipitate manner, upon particular emergencies and when great ignorance prevailed with respect to all matters of Government.

Contests everywhere may now be looked for : and complaints of injustice and partiality in the Elections, will in all probability be sent up from all parts of the Kingdom.

But supposing those difficulties to be got over, and the Nation once well or ill assembled, there still remains, I should conceive, to be settled, all that regards the interior police of the Assembly, the Order of Debate, and the Laws by which it is to be governed.— These matters do not appear as yet to have come under the consideration either of the Ministers or the public ; all that hitherto seems to be attended to, is the place where it would be most advisable to hold the States, and Paris, Versailles, Rheims, Orleans and Soissons are all mentioned as likely in their turns.

The Archbishop of Sens is at his seat at Brienne, and doubts begin to be entertained about his leaving the Kingdom, as well as of his obtaining the Cardinal's Hat from Rome. In the mean time, the provinces continue to shew their enmity towards him by illuminations and rejoicings on account of his dismission, and by burning him publicly in effigy. No change of importance has taken place since his removal and that of M. Lambert the Comptroller General.

M. de Thiard is arrived from Rennes, but is expected to return thither immediately.

The 54 Deputies from Britanny still continue unmolested here, while those sent sometime since to the Bastille are not set at liberty.

With respect to Foreign Affairs, M. de Montmorin has received

no news of a later date than the 28th of July from Constantinople.—All the efforts of this Cabinet to dispose the Porte to peace are said to have been ineffectual, and (as heretofore) I am assured that the blame continues to be imputed to British Counsels.

An account has been for some days past extremely current of a great advantage gained by the Capitan Pacha with his fleet on the Black Sea : and I have some reason to believe that it comes from M. de Segar.

Twenty Thousand Men are said to have been disembarked by the Turkish Admiral in the neighbourhood of Ochzakow, and after having formed a junction with the Troops of that Garrison, to have fallen on the Russians and to have destroyed great numbers of them, forcing at the same time Prince Potemkin to retreat precipitately. The 15 Turkish ships of the line are also said to have destroyed and dispersed the Prince de Nassau's Boats and Transports.

M. de Simolin has certainly no account of this event ; and M. de Montmorin does not speak of it as absolutely authentic, although, to judge by his conversation, on Tuesday, he did not seem altogether to disbelieve it.

49. Hailes to Carmarthen.
25 Sept. 1788.

Your Lordships Dispatch (No. 7) enclosing 4 printed copies of the Treaty of Alliance between His Majesty and the King of Prussia, signed at Berlin the 13th ult., arrived on Monday night, and on Tuesday I presented a written copy of the same to M. de Montmorin at Versailles. M. de Goltz having also received, about the same time, a communication of that Treaty, took a like opportunity of delivering it to the Minister.

M. de Montmorin expressed himself in similar terms to the Prussian Minister and myself, upon the subject of the Treaty, and affected to say that he saw nothing in it but what was very natural, and that he considered it entirely in the same light as the Provisional Treaty signed at Loo.

What real impression this nearer connexion between the Courts

of London and Berlin may have occasioned, it will require time and some more indirect means to discover : the Minister being extremely guarded upon this, as well as upon every political Topic at present.

The having mentioned M. de Goltz leads me to take notice of the instruction which that Minister has lately received by his Court for his conduct towards this Embassy, and by a Dispatch which he read to me a few days ago, I find them to be precisely the same as those which your Lordship did me the honor to convey to me in your Letter (No. 2) with respect to my conduct towards the Mission from Berlin. I have only farther to observe on this head that M. de Goltz has hitherto shewn the greatest cordiality and confidence, and I have every reason to believe that he will continue to act towards me with as much concert and good understanding as possible.

For some days past we have been involved in much doubt and obscurity with regard to the conduct of Government towards the Parliaments. M. de Barentin late first President of the Cour des Aides was declared on Sunday to be the successor of M. de Lamoignon as Keeper of the Seals: but as M. d'Ormesson was known to be favourite of the Parliament, and as M. Barentin was suspected to have been appointed through the influence of the Archbishop of Sens, the prospect of any reconciliation seemed to be extremely distant. After much negotiation which for some days past has been carried on, a Declaration was sent yesterday Morning from Versailles to the Parliament assembled at the Palais, (the Guards which had so long had the custody of it having been all withdrawn) and the substance of the Royal pleasure therein contained, is as I understand as follows.

1st That the Assembly of the States General shall take place in the month of January next.

2nd That, in consequence of that disposition, all the magistrates of the different Courts of Justice without any exception do continue in the exercise of their functions as heretofore.

3rd That no innovation whatever be made in the order of the Jurisdictions, as well ordinary as of attribution and exception, and as established before the month of May last.

4th That, nevertheless, all decisions whether Civil or Criminal that may have been pronounced in the Tribunals, created at that period, be executed according to their form and tenor.

5th That the parties, however, be not prevented from prosecuting their suits by way of appeal from the said Decisions.

6th That *an absolute silence be observed with respect to everything that concerns the execution of the Edicts of the month of May last.*

7th That everything contrary to the present Declaration be considered as null and void.

The Parliament met yesterday to take possession of their antient seat of Justice, and to receive the King's Declaration. After which they issued an Arrêt (the Peers being present) to prohibit in the most express manner all tumultuory assemblies of the People, and to confirm all former laws to that effect. They then appointed this day for the taking into consideration the Act of Royal Authority which had been sent to them to enregister.

At the moment I am writing, it is not easy to foresee what will be the result of their deliberations and in what manner the 6th Article, in particular, will be received. It seems that, if the Court had been assured beforehand of the manner in which the Parliament would conduct itself, it would not have thought it necessary to command an absolute silence with respect to preceding events, in an Article which is the only one that can be considered as conditional for their entire reinstatement in all their functions and privileges.

What degree of moderation will be shewn by them after so complete a victory, and at a moment when they see the fate of the Kingdom depending (at least till the meeting of the States) upon themselves, is a matter of very curious speculation. Certain it now is that these Bodies, which the Government has so long affected to despise, have at last raised themselves to a degree of consequence, from their negative authority, that, if they choose to continue to display it, nothing can withstand.

If the Archbishop of Sens has had reason to be satisfied with the extraordinary munificence of his Sovereign, the late Keeper of the Seals by all accounts has no less. Four hundred thousand Livres

are said to have been bestowed on him for the payment of his Debts, and a pension of eighty thousand Livres has been settled on him for life, with, it is added, a promise of some high post in times of less difficulty. Whether this account be really true or not, it has been received very generally as authentic, and consequently has not failed to create much murmuring and dissatisfaction.

The Courier that had been dispatched to Rome to apply for the Cardinal's Hat for the Archbishop of Sens, returned on Sunday; and it is believed with the consent of His Holiness. The Court of Rome which had been justly apprehensive of losing a part of its influence in this kingdom by the king's late determination to proscribe the purple in future in his Dominions, has it is thought been too well pleased at such a change of sentiment to make any difficulties in granting His Most Christian Majesty's request. The Archbishop remains at his house in the country and it is now said that he does not go to Italy.

Tippoo Sahib's Ambassadors are preparing for their departure from hence and I understand they are to carry away with them a number of Arts and some Artists and a few soldiers. The honors and attentions that have been shewn to these people during their residence in this capital have been very remarkable and it is hoped no doubt that by conveying an idea of the riches and splendour of this country to the Power by whom this mission is deputed, he may be inclined still more to strengthen his alliance with it, while the views of France continue to be uniformly directed towards the civilization and, above all, the improvement in military science of their Indian connexion, for the purpose of rendering it more formidable to the British Settlements in the East. I know not how to give credit to a report which I have heard concerning a second and more splendid Embassy from Tippoo Sahib, although I have heard a very high authority quoted as its author. The Ambassadors that had been sent to Constantinople by Tippoo and a considerable number of whose suite perished in their journey, are said to be now at Grand Cairo, and preparing to come to France, to compliment his most Christian Majesty. There are letters from Spain which made mention of a party formed secretly against M. de Florida

Blanca and of meetings held at M. d'Aranda's; several of the members of this Cabal are said to be arrested and thrown into prison and amongst the rest a person who was lately appointed Minister to the Court of Berlin. Monsr de Montmorin assured me that he had received no news whatever of importance either from Russia or the Porte. His last Letters from Constantinople mention indeed that the Capitan Pasha was expected to return there very shortly from the Black Sea and that a reinforcement was preparing to be sent to his Fleet which still consisted of thirty fine Sail. Ockzakow and Choczim still continue to maintain themselves according to the last account against all the efforts of the Imperial Arms....

50. Hailes to Carmarthen.
9 Oct. 1788.

The measure of convoking an Assembly of Notables which I had the honor of mentioning to your Lordship in my last Dispatch as probable, has for some days past been made public; and, as you will see by the printed Copy of the Arrêt de Conseil inclosed herewith, is fixed for the 3rd of November next.

The whole of this Arrêt will best explain to your Lordship the nature of the difficulties that must attend a legal and proper organization of the States General; and it is under that idea that the Court professes to have recourse to the opinions and suggestions of an Assembly merely deliberative, and to be composed of the same Members as those convened in the month of January 1787. But there are many who think that this step has been taken in order to gain time, and even, (from the difference of sentiment which is likely to divide this preliminary meeting) to retard very much, and, perhaps, to get rid altogether of the States.

But, whether this be the case or not, the enemies of M. Necker avail themselves of the circumstance, and the Parliament too, having strongly recommended the adoption of the form of the convocation of the States in 1614, as the least liable to objection, are dissatisfied at their Counsel's not being taken, and readily join in circulating the notion to which I have above alluded.

By considering however the extreme distress to which the Government is reduced ; that the confidence of the public, so far from being kept alive by the operations of the new Minister of Finance, is now (to judge by the State of the Funds) at a lower ebb than even at the moment of the suspension of payments by the Archbishop of Sens ; that open opposition and secret intrigues (those of the Friends of M. de Calonne on one side, and on the other, those of the Adherents of the Archbishop) are in constant motion to counteract the plans of M. Necker, it is difficult to persuade oneself that the least hope of avoiding any longer the assembly of the Nation can exist at Versailles. But if so many obstacles and difficulties present themselves respecting the mere form of this Meeting, your Lordship will, I dare say, as well as many here who now begin to examine the measure more nearly, foresee no very favorable result of it to any party. Many years of trouble and distress appear to lie in prospect, and since it unfortunately so happens that the interests of the two Countries must continue divided, and that the prosperity of the one must excite the jealousy of the other (a truth evinced at this moment by the conduct of this Court towards the Ambassadors of a formidable power in the East) it is a matter of great satisfaction to me to be able to congratulate your Lordship, on closing my correspondence with you here, on a situation of affairs that is so little likely to give any serious cause of disquiet to His Majesty's Government.

With respect to foreign Affairs and particularly the late Treaty between His Majesty and the King of Prussia, I have learnt nothing material.—M. de Montmorin observes a very strict neutrality both in conversation and in conduct, and I am assured by all those who have business to transact with him that he neither answers nor finishes any thing ; to say truth, every thing at present gives way to the pressure of domestic concerns.

We have no news of importance from the Provinces, I only hear (tho' not positively) that the States of Britanny that were to have assembled at the end of this month, are likely to be prorogued for some time. Both M. de Thiard and the Maréchal de Stainville are at Paris.

The disturbances that have been so frequent of late in this capital are now quieted, though there is much cause to apprehend that the great number of people without employment, and reduced to want by the late reforms, may render Paris a place of some danger the ensuing winter.

51. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
6 Nov. 1788.

The Notables assemble this day at Versailles: it is supposed that, as they are called together solely for the purpose of fixing the time and settling the manner of convoking the States-General, they will not continue their sittings for any length of time. The Princes of the Blood are to hold Committees at their respective Apartments at Versailles as was the case in 1787.

The Duc d'Orleans has however, it is confidently said, requested the King to dispense with His attendance on this occasion, and it is added that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to comply with His Highness's request. The Duc de Penthièvre has also excused Himself from attending on account of His precarious state of health.

The Maréchal de Biron was interred on Monday evening with great magnificence and although the number of Carriages and concourse of people was very great the whole of the Procession and Ceremony was conducted with the greatest good order. The Title de Biron with an estate of about £6000 Stg. per annum, devolves to the Duc de Gontaut (the late Maréchal's next Brother) who from his age and infirmities can never be able to attend his duty in Parliament, and will therefore, it is thought, petition His Majesty to allow his son the Duc de Lauzun to take the Title of Duc de Biron and to permit him to sit as Peer of the Realm in his Stead.

Yesterday morning died, universally regretted, the Comte de Talleyrand, by whose death another Blue-Riband is become vacant.

The Abbé de Périgord, formerly Agent-General of the Clergy, has just been promoted to the Bishoprick of Autun: it is much

believed that this nomination was hastened by a Letter written to the King by the Comte de Talleyrand, Father of the Abbé, a few days before his death, in which he beseeched His Majesty to give him the satisfaction, before he should quit the World of seeing his Son raised to Episcopal dignity.

The Duc de Châtelet is to be received at the head of the French Guards next Monday when His Majesty will present Him to that Corps, and will in a short speech enjoin the Officers and men to observe a strict obedience to the commands of their new Colonel in everything that regards His Royal Service : The Duc de Châtelet was a great friend and supporter of the late Principal Minister.

Prince Henry arrived at Paris last Saturday and the following day paid His respects to Their Majesties at Versailles.

A Gallery is erected purposely for Him and His Suite at the Assembly of Notables, but no other Foreigners were to be allowed to be present, though it is very possible that some few will have been able to gain admittance.

The Indian Ambassadors were not sailed from Brest when the last Letters left that Port: the oldest of them, whose name I cannot recollect, was so ill as to be thought unable to bear the fatigue of a voyage to India.

The last Letters from Vienna mention the retreat of the Turkish Army beyond Panczova, but contain no other particulars excepting that His Imperial Majesty's health was much mended.

I had flattered myself that I should have it in my power to send your Lordship this week some account of the establishment of the new Packets appointed by Government to carry Dispatches from Marseilles to the Levant in order to form a communication with the East Indies by way of Egypt and Suez, but all that I have hitherto been able to learn is that a Vessel will sail every fortnight from Marseilles for the purpose above-mentioned ; a matter which I conceive to be highly deserving of the attention of His Majesty's confidential Servants, as serving to demonstrate how watchfull France continues to be over Her Interests in that part of the World, by the pains she is taking to secure the earliest intelligence

possible from thence. The abolition of the Packets which used to be employed between this Country and its Colonies was no doubt determined on with a view to enable Government the better to prosecute, by the saving that expence, the intended communication with the East Indies.

I send your Lordship a *Mémoire sur l'importance pour la Colonie de St. Dominique d'avoir des réprésentans aux Etats Généraux* signed by most of the principal Proprietors of that Island now in Paris : The Marquis Gouy d'Arcy is the chief Promoter of this address, which, it is imagined will meet with much opposition from Government as that Colony, not contributing its proportion of Taxes, but on the contrary costing Government a large sum of money annually for its defence, will not be considered as entitled to bear a part in the Representation at the National Assembly....

... The Public Funds are rather better than they were last week.

P.S. I am this moment informed that the King's Speech to the Notables was short and well delivered that M. Necker spoke for a considerable time but so low as not to be well heard. The Archbishop of Narbonne spoke a few words, and that *Monsieur* spoke exceedingly well.

52. Dorset to Carmarthen.
9 Nov. 1788.

I have the honor to send your Lordship inclosed herewith the printed Speeches as they were delivered on Thursday last at the opening of the Assembly of the Notables :—On Friday the several Committees, six in number, proceeded to business, and will continue to sit daily : each of these Committees is presided by a Prince of the Blood :—The various and intricate Points proposed for investigation and discussion by M. Necker in his speech, as necessary to determine the best methods to be pursued in convoking the Etats-Généraux, will, it may be presumed, be a work of much difficulty and length of time ; there cannot therefore as yet be any guess how long this Assembly will continue.—Besides the printed Speech *Monsieur* spoke a few words, which He delivered with much expression and great dignity : The Archbishop of

Narbonne spoke also, as did likewise the First President of the Parliament of Paris (Mons. d'Ormesson) who recommended in very strong terms, in the name of the Parliament, the same form of convocation for the Etats-Généraux as was observed in 1614. Five of the Committees are composed of 24 Members each and the other one of 23.

53. Dorset to Carmarthen.
13 Nov. 1788.

It has been with the deepest affliction that I have learned the alarming state of His Majesty's health, the unfavourable accounts of which having reached Versailles, I think it my duty in justice to the feelings of Their Most Christian Majesties, to acquaint your Lordship that they have testified to me a very sincere anxiety upon the occasion, nor indeed can I omit to mention at the same time the very general concern that, in consequence of the alarming intelligence which has been received, prevails both at Court and in this Capital, and the earnest solicitude that is expressed for His Majesty's speedy recovery.

I have the honor to send your Lordship a Duplicate of my Despatch (No. 66) which I sent by the Post last Monday.

The Speech delivered by the First President of the Parliament of Paris, at the opening of the Assembly of Notables, has given no small umbrage at Court by too suddenly insisting on the performance of His Majesty's former professions and of the late Arrêts, by exacting the immediate nomination of the day on which les Etats-Généraux should meet, requiring at the same time that they should be convened exactly with the same formalities and privileges of those in the year 1614, and protesting beforehand against whatever may pass in that Assembly if differently formed.

However since the commencement of the Committees the language of the Members of the Parliament of Paris, as well as of those of the Provinces, is much more adapted to the sentiments of the Court of Versailles as those Corps have much to apprehend from the numerous body of the Etats-Généraux and who, it may be expected, will aim some fatal blow at the over-grown authority

and influence of the Parliaments; for these Reasons the Magistrates will, it is imagined, endeavour to ingratiate themselves with their Sovereign and the Nobility as their only support in case they should be driven to extremities: but at present neither the King nor the Nobility seem inclined to afford them either protection or support.

His Highness the Duc d'Orleans, notwithstanding all the reports to the contrary, presides in His Committee the same as the rest of the Princes of the Blood.

The number of Points proposed for discussion make it improbable that any plan can be thoroughly digested for assembling the States-General sooner than the middle of March 1789: The Committees are not likely to finish before the end of this month at soonest; the Letters of Convocation cannot of course be issued sooner than the middle of December, and it will be scarcely possible, considering the great extent of this Kingdom, to bring together so considerable a part of the Nation in less than three months.

It is no longer doubted that M. Necker will have money to go on with 'till that period, since it happens fortunately for him that the Taxes of the Provinces are all received in this and the three succeeding months; hitherto the collecting of the Taxes has not been attended with difficulty but, if any suspicions should arise that the States-General will be put off to a more distant period, discontents and murmurings would probably again manifest themselves, and might be attended with the most pernicious consequences to Government.

M. Necker, in order to secure to himself money sufficient 'till March, pays nothing but what the King's Service immediately requires, so that an almost entire stop is put to the payment of the Life-rents 'till that period: it is also affirmed that that Minister has appropriated a large part of the Funds of the *Mont de Piété* to the discharge of the most pressing demands.

It may be observed, to the credit of this Country, that the Public seem disposed to submit to any inconveniences for the moment, but if the Comptroller General should not be able to make good his

payments in March his situation will be as bad as, if not worse than, that of any of his Predecessors.

M. Despresmenil, who has been so much the object of Public attention, both on account of his confinement and the motives which occasioned it, returned to Paris last Monday evening.

As many different accounts of his sufferings have been circulated, it may not be unsatisfactory to know the circumstances as given by himself, and which were as follows.—At first he was allowed the whole of the *Isle Ste Marguerite* as the Place of his confinement, but upon the arrival of the Governor, some correspondence, of which he disapproved, being discovered, M. Despresmenil was shut up in the Castle under the strictest Guard : this rigour did not continue above a fortnight, but gave place to every indulgence that the Nature of his situation would admit of : a regular Table was kept for him and he had the satisfaction of receiving every mark of attention from all descriptions of people who regularly came to the Island to visit him : it may be added as a curious circumstance, as tending to shew the general esteem in which M. Despresmenil was held, as well as the difference between the present and former times, that a small French Fleet, passing by the *Isle Ste Marguerite* during his residence there, gave a salute of all their Artillery, and sent a Boat on Shore to inform him that the compliment was intended solely for him.

On his departure it was difficult to say whether joy for his release or regret at the loss of his Society was most prevalent : the event was however celebrated with Illuminations and every mark of satisfaction that Justice was at length shewn to one who had sacrificed himself entirely from principles of rectitude and love of his Country.

The Parliament met yesterday without any extraordinary circumstances attending its resuming its functions ; but it was thought expedient from an apprehension that mischief might ensue from the great concourse of people that it was expected would assemble upon the occasion, to double the Guards in every part of this City, which patroled the Streets the whole of the night.

M. du Bois, late *Commandeur du Guêt* has been removed, on

account of his having made himself obnoxious to the Parliament by the active part he took in the late riots : he has however in recompence for his conduct on that occasion, and as a proof of his having given satisfaction to the Court, been made Maréchal de Camp, and has received a small Government with a Pension of 12,000ff annexed to it. M. du Bois is succeeded by M. de Rhulière.

The Duc de Lauzun, at the request of his Father the Duc de Gontaut, is raised to the rank of Duc and Pair, by the title of Duc de Biron.

The Turks still continue in the Bannat :—during their late retreat down the banks of the Danube their rear was much harrassed by the Imperial Troops.

The last Letters from Oczakow dated the 28th of Sep. mention that that Fortress was not likely to surrender : it has been reported here but I cannot say with any great degree of authority that the Russian Troops had shewn a great backwardness to attempt a general assault and that Prince Potemkin had in consequence of this discovery laid aside all thoughts of continuing the Siege.

The Duc de Châtelet was received on Monday last at Versailles as Colonel of the Regiment of French Guards. The King's own Regiment is not yet given away but it is now thought that the Duc de Liancourt will be named to it.

The Dauphin is considerably mended of late.

The Council of war is to meet on the 15th and to continue their operations from that period.

The Marquis de Langeron, Lt. General in the King's Service and Knight of the Order of St. Esprit, is appointed commander in chief in Franche Comté in the room of the Maréchal de Vaux deceased.

The Price of Bread was a French Sol per pound yesterday : that necessary article of life has risen four Sols per pound in the course of the last four years.

I forwarded to your Lordship a packet from Mr. Eden which I received the day before yesterday by a private Hand.

The Packet from Sir Robert Ainslie is just arrived...

54. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
20 Nov. 1788.

The Notables continue their proceedings by Committees and hope to have finished their business by the end of next Month at latest :

Their deliberations have hitherto been carried on with great temper, and though the question (a very important one) in regard to the proportion that is to be allowed to the *Tiers Etat* in the formation of the Etats-Généraux, has occasioned a great difference of opinion, the discussion of it has not been attended with any circumstance to interrupt that harmony which is so essential to render the present proceedings beneficial to the Country.

Nevertheless the Committee, at which Monsieur presides, has determined (differently from the other five) that the Tiers-Etat should be represented more in proportion to the Share it pays of the public expences, so as to make it equal in number to the two Orders of Clergy and Nobility taken together ; whereas the other Committees have resolved that one of the Clergy, one of the Nobility, and one only of the Tiers-Etat should be elected in each District ; this mode of forming the Etats-Généraux will, with some modification, be conformable to the plan adopted in 1614, and will of course be very disadvantageous to the Tiers-Etat, which thus will be entirely at the mercy of the Clergy and the Nobility.

The Clergy appear to have managed well for themselves in this important discussion since, according to this arrangement, they will be able, by means of the immense property and influence they possess, to over-awe the Tiers-Etat during the holding of the Etats Généraux and to divide the Nobility, who, in case of a junction (so much dreaded) of their order with that of the Tiers-Etats, might prove very formidable and perhaps fatal to the power of the Church.

How the difference of opinion in Monsieur's Committee will terminate I cannot inform your Lordship, the Numbers upon the division having been equal viz—12 to 12—Monsieur is said to have given the casting vote in favor of the Tiers Etat : it is however

thought probable that this Committee will coincide with the rest rather than risk the delay and confusion which a perseverance in its decision might produce :

The Maréchal de Beauvau and the Duc de Châtelet supported Monsieur's opinion.

The object of the Parliaments is to have the Etats-Généraux convened as nearly as possible in the same manner as in 1614 ; in this the Clergy and the Magistrates are acting upon similar principles it being equally the interest of both to prevent the Tiers-Etat from having that share in the National Assembly, to which by national right they are entitled. A general dissatisfaction prevails among the Tiers Etat in consequence of the resolution respecting them which they foresee is likely to be passed in the Assembly of Notables: Many Provinces, and particularly Normandy, refuse to send Delegates upon those terms, but seem determined to present themselves in a body in order to insist on their right of voting, and it is imagined that some further indulgence will be granted them to prevent a measure, which would be productive of very serious disorders.—Amongst the difficulties that arise in making the necessary arrangements for the Assembly of the States, that on the part of the Barons in those Provinces which go under the name of *Pays Conquis* is not the least considerable. From former privileges they claim the right of being universally admitted as *Noblesse*, which is strongly objected to by *Les Duc and Pairs* who contend for being the only Persons hereditarily entitled to that distinction. This material point of dispute remains still undecided.

I send your Lordship "Observations sur l'Etat actuel du Cardinal de Rohan" containing some very pointed remarks on the peculiar hardships that Prelate has undergone. The Publication from which the inclosed is copied has been suppressed: it is however beyond a doubt that His Eminence will soon be permitted to return from his banishment, and it is moreover thought that He will be one of the Deputies of the Province of Alsace at the Assembly of the Etats-Généraux.

The following is the most authentic intelligence I have been

able to procure for your Lordship respecting the newly-established Packets at Marseilles.—

There are six of these Vessels which sail the 1st and 15th of every month from the Port of Marseilles to Smyrna without touching at any other Place whatsoever ; these Packets are not allowed to take Passengers, Goods of any kind, nor even Parcels ; in short nothing but Letters which are forwarded gratis : The Vessels are of from 40 to 70 Tons, and have from 8 to 12 men on board but during the winter season it is probable that more hands will be allowed.

They are generally dispatched before the time of their Quarantine is expired, and in case it should happen that none of the Packets are at Marseilles on the day appointed, a vessel is to be hired for the purpose that there may be no interruption in the order of communication ; it is required that the Letters be delivered in the morning of the day before the Packet is to sail : the Letters are conveyed from Smyrna to Constantinople by Land in six or eight days and from thence by way of Aleppo to India.

The Turks continue to retreat, and will in all probability entirely evacuate the Austrian Territories as soon as the winter sets in.

It is strongly reported that the siege of Oczakow is raised.

The Council of War continues to sit at Versailles; the ordinances of last year are now under examination with a view to revise whatever may have been found superfluous and unnecessary. The Duc de Guines, who is a member of this Board, will, it is confidently asserted, be named by His Most Christian Majesty to the command of the *Regiment du Roi*.

The Club, commonly known under the name of the *Salon*, composed of the first Nobility and Gentry of Paris, which was suppressed two years ago, is now open again by permission of the Court.

The Pièces Interessantes which I send herewith to your Lordship, submitted by the *Commissaires de l'Isle de Tobago* to the consideration of the Notables, have not as yet been deliberated upon : the whole of that business will in all probability be laid

before His Majesty in Council, who will decide upon it without the advice or opinion of the Notables.

55. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
27 Nov. 1788.

I received yonr Lordship's Dispatch No. 26 last Tuesday, and have in consequence written to the Count de la Luzerne in order to obtain from the Court of Admiralty of Dunkirk Copies of the correspondence alluded to in Messrs Gregg's Letter.

The important discussion respecting the Tiers-Etat is likely to be attended with great embarrassment to His Most Christian Majesty's Servants, and I have reason to think M. Necker begins to repent his having so hastily decided upon the measure of assembling the Notables, finding that he would have done better if he had at first adopted the ideas of the Parliament in following the precedents which the annals of the Country afforded for a National Assembly, for however interested that Body may be supposed to have been in recommending the plan which was observed in 1614, it was still to be apprehended, as it is now become evident that any attempt at variation from that plan, to which its precedency must always have given sanction, would necessarily occasion such jealousies and discontents throughout the Kingdom as must unavoidably frustrate those advantages which the Nation might otherwise hope to experience from the assembling of the States General.

If Government, instead of assembling the Notables, had attended to the advice contained in the Remonstrances of the Parliament, His Majesty would now enjoy the double advantage of being able to assemble the States-General so early as January next, and of avoiding the unpleasant discussions to which the question respecting the share to be allowed to the Tiers Etat in the representation has given rise, as well as the general discontents which have thereby been occasioned in the Provinces; for the Body of the People are by no means disposed in a matter of so much consequence to them, to submit quietly to the decision of certain individuals, styled Notables, assembled by Government and acting

under its influence, to the great detriment, as the People conceive, of their natural rights.

From the length of the Debates in the several Committees it is probable that their deliberations will yet continue eight or ten days longer, which will have so far exceeded the time at first imagined that the States-General can scarcely be brought together sooner than the month of May : what may be the consequence of this delay time will discover but it may be presumed that M. Necker's popularity will be affected by it, and it will not be surprising if he should be disgusted with the management of the King's Affairs before this period.

Monsieur and the Comte d'Artois are indefatigable in their attendance at their respective Committees.

The Duc d'Orleans has excused himself from presiding His Committee but nevertheless attends it regularly : The Maréchal de Broglie is chosen President in His Highnesses stead.

The Prince de Condé, the Duc de Bourbon, and the Prince de Conti, continue to preside their several Committees and are very regular in their attendance. It is now expected, on account of the various Remonstrances that have been presented from several principal Towns in favor of the Tiers-Etats that the resolutions, passed in Monsieur's Committee of which I took notice in my Despatch No. 70, will be adopted by all the other Committees.

The return of the Parliament of Besançon was not received by the Inhabitants of that Town with the warmth which might have been expected, but their first act of authority being the entire abolition of the *Main-Morte*, the approbation of this measure was expressed by the most general rejoicings.

Some changes in the French Cabinet are much talked of and it is strongly reported that the Secretary at War (M. de Brienne) intends to resign at the end of this week, which is very much believed as it is known that that Minister has with great reluctance remained in Office since the resignation of His Brother the Archbishop of Sens. It is rather to be imagined that the Archbishop of Sens has not found the residence of Nice perfectly agreeable as they write from thence that he means to quit immediately and go

on to Pisa, leaving however his family behind him. It is also said that the French at Nice, all of them excepting the French Consul, refused to associate with him.

By the death of the Count de la Touche Treville, Lt. General in the French Marine, which happened in the course of the last week, a second *Cordon Rouge* is become vacant.

His Majesty did not receive the Foreign Ministers last Tuesday, nor did M. de Montmorin come to Paris that day, on account of indisposition which confined him at Versailles: it is however with no small satisfaction that I have it nevertheless in my power to repeat to your Lordship the earnest wishes of this Court for His Majesty's recovery, and I am persuaded that there is not at this moment the least disposition in the Cabinet of Versailles to seek occasion for interrupting the harmony and good understanding which so happily prevails between the two Courts.

It is said that M. de St. Priest (who is now in this Capital) and the Bishop of Arras are to be immediately summoned to the Privy Council with the same privileges as are allowed to Ministers of State.

The Comte de Puységur, a very mild and sensible man, will it is supposed succeed Mons. de Brienne in the War Department.

The Ambassadors from Tippoo Sultan sailed from Brest only about 10 days ago.

There has lately been much uneasiness from apprehension for the safety of the French Frigate *La Méduse* which sailed in company with another Frigate of the same force, an account of whose arrival was received seven weeks ago ; however intelligence has at length been received of the safe arrival at Pondicherry of *La Méduse* without touching at the Isle de France.

The young King of Cochinchine sailed in one of these Frigates on his return to his native Country.

The price of Bread has again been raised a French Sol ; the consequence of which has already been felt in the instance of above forty Bakers having been obliged to shut up Shop :—

In the Provinces these discontents have still risen higher ; particularly at Pontamouson in Lorrain where the public Magazines of Corn have been broken open and pillaged by the populace.

The Stocks have risen a little since last week but are now fallen again.

The Mémoire, which I have the honor to send your Lordship, presented to the King by *Les six Corps de la Ville de Paris*, is deserving of your Lordship's perusal.

A Letter from Calais, received here on Sunday last, mentions the following circumstance which is perhaps without example.

On the 19th of this Month, at the hour of shutting the Gates, 120 Grenadiers and Chasseurs of the *Regiment Royal d'Auvergne*, of which M. le Vicomte de Rochambeau is Colonel, sallied out of the Citadel with their Arms and Baggage, having forced the Guard that endeavored to oppose them.

Being arrived at the *Corps-de-garde* of the Town the Officer who commanded there ordered the Barrier to be shut, but they forced it open and pursued their intended plan. M. de Bienassise, the Commandant of Calais, who was then at the Play, being informed of what had passed, ordered the Garrison to beat to Arms, and to hold itself ready to march at a moment's warning, but the night being remarkably dark and every one ignorant of the road the Deserters had taken no Party was sent after them. The first accounts from Calais will probably mention the consequence of this unpleasant affair, as well as the motives that induced those Soldiers to have recourse to so violent an extremity.

We hear by Letters from Vienna, received by the last Courier, that the Arch-Duke Francis is returned thither from the Army.

The Emperor is still at His Head Quarters at Semlin : Nothing of any consequence has lately happened in that Country, excepting that the Turks have evacuated Meadia, after setting fire to it, and have fallen back on their own Dominions.

56. Dorset to Carmarthen.

4 Dec. 1788.

I have received your Lordship's letter No. 27 and 28. I am deeply concerned that His Majesty's disorder appears not to have materially abated :—The same anxiety continues to prevail at this Court as manifested itself when His Majesty's illness was first

known here, and I make no doubt that His Most Christian Majesty's Ambassador at London does not omit to express how sincere an interest His Royal Master takes in the general concern upon this melancholy occasion.

I had the honor of writing to your Lordship last Monday by the Post to acquaint you with the appointment of the Comte de Puységur (Lt. General of His Most Christian Majesty's Army) to the War Department in the room of M. de Brienne, who retires on a Pension of 10,000 livres Tournois with a present gratuity of 100,000ff in recompense for his Services, resigning the command of la Guyenne.

No other changes in Administration are talked of, neither is the Bishop of Arras, nor M. de St. Priest as yet named of the Privy Council. M. de la Vauguyon, His Most Christian Majesty's Ambassador at the Court of Spain, is on his return home, having obtained leave of absence on his private Affairs.

A great degree of fermentation continues to subsist in the Committees of Notables; it is now imagined that they will be obliged to agree in adopting the mode which was observed in 1614 for assembling the States-General, since it seems to be the opinion that the Notables are not of themselves competent to determine what Persons are qualified, and cannot of course claim any constitutional right of naming who are to assist at a National Assembly: it will therefore remain for such of the Provinces as shall find themselves aggrieved by being excluded from any share in the representation to petition the States that they may be placed upon the same footing as the rest.

The new Minister of the Finances is supposed to favor the pretensions of the third Order, and the Clergy and the Nobility entertain a suspicion that the Court is but too much inclined to second that System: thus His Majesty and his Ministers are in a very embarrassing predicament, for should the Clergy and the Nobility take alarm at the too great predilection shewn towards the Tiers-Etat, they may very likely, as a last resource, recede from their attendance at the States-General while on the other hand the Tiers-Etat, if they are dissatisfied with, what they may consider, a

too great disproportion of their own Order, may on their part also refuse to obey their summons to attend the States : it is therefore become essentially necessary for Government, in order to prevent the confusion which seems to threaten, to form some resolutions without delay that may be calculated to draw all Parties together.

The Payments go on very slowly and the Annuities which are paid alphabetically and which began in January with the letter A are now advanced to letter C only : this retard of payment not only occasions great distress to those individuals whose whole property consists in those annuities, but at the same time materially affects the credit of Government, yet nothwithstanding the embarrassed situation of public Affairs, the Funds have been gradually rising during the last 10 days.

The multiplicity of political Publications, which have lately appeared, has not failed to attract the attention of the Notables, and especially of the Prince of Conty's Committee : that Prince was in consequence prevailed on to present the Letter, which I have the honor to send your Lordship inclosed, to Monsieur to be by him, as President of the first Committee, communicated to the King : annexed to it is His Majesty's Answer, the contents of which has occasioned some dissatisfaction being expressed by the Notables : No further steps have been taken and the Committees continue their Deliberations, which are likely to last 'till towards the middle of next week.

M. Necker really has (or has at least) expressed apprehensions of an insurrection on account of the scarcity of Corn, but this probably arises more from policy than actual belief of such an event, as he imputes the present distress to the Archbishop of Sens whom he accuses of having given permission for vast exports of Grain, on receiving certain gratuities for such indulgence.

M. Necker further screens himself from reproach for the present calamity, by asserting that at an early period he took the precautions of sending to England for a quantity of Corn equal to the deficiency occasioned by the misconduct of his predecessor, and it is said that there are actually now in the River Seine several

Vessels laden with that commodity which could not proceed to Paris for want of water sufficient owing to the uncommonly dry season, and which are now stopped by the Frost.

The number of Grenadiers and Chasseurs who, as I mentioned to your Lordship last week, had deserted from the *Régiment Royal d'Auvergne* at Calais, did not amount, according to the last Letters from thence, to more than seventy-five, sixty-six of whom had returned to their duty.

The Vicomte de Rochambeau, Colonel of the above-mentioned Regiment, upon hearing the circumstance, immediately set out from Paris, where he then was, to go to Calais with all expedition.

Deputies are lately arrived in this Capital from Quimper and have joined those of Nantes: It is probable that all the other towns of Brittany will follow their example, notwithstanding that the Intendant of the Province has written circular Letters to all the Corporations strictly forbidding them, in the King's name to assemble.

57. Dorset to Carmarthen.
11 Dec. 1788.

The Notables, having finished their Deliberations, will be dismissed by His Majesty either to-morrow or next day, for which purpose, His Majesty will, on account of the severity of the weather, assemble them *dans la Salle des Gardes* in the Palace of Versailles, when He will return them thanks for their attendance.

The result of the proceedings of the several Committees will shortly appear in print, I therefore do not atempt to give your Lordship any detail of them; I must however observe that the present temper of the Nation is such that the Provinces probably will not consider themselves as bound to follow any particular mode, that may be dictated to them, for the election of Deputies to represent them at the Assembly of the States-General, unless it shall appear by the records to be conformable to the customs of former times on similar occasions; neither, it is thought, will the Tiers-Etat at any rate submit to a representation of their Order that shall be judged by them inadequate to the magnitude of the

proportion they hold in the State ; for, by the calculation which has lately been made of the three Orders, it appears that the Clergy, not including the *Religieux*, amounted to 90,000 only : and that of Nobility, even with all those who have purchased their titles, amounted to no more than 500,000 : the disproportion therefore between the Tiers-Etat and the other two Orders, taken together, is very considerable, the whole population of France being estimated at 24 millions. Orders have been given for issuing the Letters of Convocation for the States General immediately, and they are to assemble at Paris (as it is now said) on the 20th of March, but that being thought a too distant period, the King is to be petitioned to call them together, the 1st of February, which however it is probable cannot be complied with.

I sent your Lordship, by the Post of last Monday, the Resolutions passed by the Parliament on the preceding Friday, and which were presented the following day to His Majesty, who returned the answer, a copy of which I now send your Lordship together with the said Resolutions :—The moderation with which His Majesty's sentiments are expressed cannot fail to occasion much disappointment to those who were the promoters of a measure so ill-timed and so injudiciously concerted.

M. Necker gains ground in the public opinion of which the gradual rise of the Funds is a sure proof.

On Monday last died at his house in Paris the Bailli de Suffrein, a martyr, there is reason for believing, to improper treatment ; the Faculty having prescribed frequent bleedings for a gouty complaint in his stomach, instead of endeavouring to force the disorder to the extremities : He was buried yesterday : This Naval Commander is considered here as a great loss to the Service.—The Nomination of an Ambassador from Malta is usually left to this Court, and the present Candidates for that dignity are the Chevalier de Coigny, Brother to the Duke of that name, The Bailli de Crussol, and the Malthése Ambassador at Rome.

Bread has again been raised un Sol, and is accordingly now at 14 Sols pr lb :—I understand that it is to be gradually raised to 16 sols and no higher : the distress of the poor is

already very great as may be conceived, and the unusual severity of the weather is at this moment peculiarly unfortunate for them; nor, on this account, is it very surprising that robberies should be frequent, which at present is the case in an alarming degree: it is by no means safe to walk the streets late in the Evening, and in some of the less frequented parts of the Town Carriages have been attempted.

The Dauphin has continued to mend, and His health is materially better...

58. Dorset to Carmarthen.
18 Dec. 1788.

I had the honor to write to your Lordship on Monday last by an English gentleman of my acquaintance who left Paris on that day and who, I trust, will have faithfully delivered to your Lordship my Despatch No. 79, with which were enclosed two Despatches from Sir Robert Ainslie, that had come to hand on Friday having been forwarded to me via Marseilles.

The Notables were dismissed on the 12th Inst; your Lordship will already have seen the several Speeches which were delivered on that occasion; I now send another copy of them.

On Sunday last the Prince de Condé, the Duc de Bourbon, the Duc d'Enghien and the Prince de Conti, met in the apartment of the Comte d'Artois at Versailles and agreed to present to His Majesty a Memorial, a copy of which is inclosed for your Lordship's perusal. These Princes in their address to the Throne remonstrated strongly in favour of the Nobility in opposition to the claims of the Tiers-Etat with respect to the convocation of the States-General, but They received no answer from the King, when they presented it last Sunday morning at the Levée where His Majesty was graciously pleased to receive them, it is supposed that the consideration of the contents of this Memorial will be referred to the States-General. I have reason to think that the King would rather have dispensed with this mark of the zeal of His Brother and the other Princes at this critical moment, when the fermentation, which is already very great, through all the

Provinces and in all the Principal Towns of the Kingdom, will probably be much augmented by this ill-judged measure :—The Funds have sunk 6 pr. Cent in consequence of this Remonstrance which is considered as the presage of great embarrassment to the State by the difficulties it may occasion in assembling the Nation. It was finally determined by the Notables to recommend the same form of Convocation as that which was used in 1614, but the Court seems to wish that the Tiers-Etat should have a Representation more equal to the proportion they bear of the public burthen, than was allowed them at that epoch.—In several of the Provinces this proportion has been agreed upon and some of the Towns have even gone so far as to fix the proportion, viz—three of the Clergy; three of the Nobility, and six of the Tiers-Etat; Bordeaux is mentioned as one of the Places where Resolutions to this effect have been passed, and nearly the same are said to have been passed at Thoulouse and Grenoble.

With this disposition in the Provinces it may well be apprehended that the fermentation will increase when the address to the King is made known there.

Monsieur and the Duc d'Orleans refused to subscribe their names to the Memorial, it is however confidently asserted that the Duc d'Orleans approved of the sentiments expressed in it, and certainly He attended the meeting.

The States-General cannot be convened sooner than the middle of April next :—Versailles is likely to be fixed on for this Assembly but that matter is not yet absolutely determined.

The Letters of Convocation will be issued in the course of next week.

The Duc de Penthiévre is still in the Country, somewhat mended in his health.

The opening of the States of Britanny being fixed for the 29th of this month, the Comte de Thiard, Commandant of that Province, proposes to set out the 23rd, and to repair to Rennes.

M. Bertrand de Malleville has decidedly resigned his office of Intendant of Britanny and is succeeded by M. de Rochefort, Maître des Requêtes.

The States of Languedoc are not to assemble 'till the 15th of January.

The Province of Burgundy has sollicited to have an Assembly extraordinary of its States : it is more than probable His Majesty will grant this permission, and that their meeting will take place in the course of the ensuing month.

An Assembly *des Chambres* was held on Saturday, on account of the dearness of Corn, when L'Avocat Général, Séguier, presented a petition which met with much approbation ; the Parliament has in consequence nominated Commissioners to receive information and examine the matters set forth in the above-mentioned petition. Government has, in the mean time, taken the most prudent measures to prevent the scarcity of Bread so much apprehended from the impossibility of working the Wind-Mills and Water-Mills by reason of the present extreme severity of the weather, and at the same time to stop a further increase in the price of Corn and flour. Six thousand Carriages have been provided in the course of the last week for the purpose of furnishing Paris with those Articles, and it is confidently said that many cargoes are already arrived at different Ports from Foreign Countries.

The Courier Extraordinary, whom I mentioned in my last to have arrived from Petersburgh, proceeded to Madrid. M. de Montmorin assured me that no official Despatches were brought for him by this Messenger, who it is thought was charged with Letters to the Russian Minister in Spain, instructing him to express to His Catholic Majesty the sense Her Imperial Majesty entertains of the friendly offers of the Spanish Court to employ its good Offices for the purpose of restoring tranquility to the belligerent Powers in the North as well as in the Eastern Parts of Europe.

An authentic Letter from Vienna mentions the arrival of the Emperor at that Capital in perfect health—the discontents that prevail, particularly in Hungary, on account of the new Levies and supplies—the Armistice proposed by the Imperialists and acceded to by the Pacha of Ronselie during the winter—and the continuation of the siege of Oczakoff, in which the Russians persevere notwithstanding the prodigious loss of men they have

sustained by the inclemency of the weather and in a late fruitless assault....

59. Dorset to Carmarthen.
25 Dec. 1788.

The death of His Catholic Majesty [1] is much lamented by this Court, and it is considered as an event peculiarly unfortunate at this time, coming in addition to the many circumstances of trouble under which Europe in general is now labouring : A total change in the Administration is expected to take place at Madrid, which cannot be looked to but with regret from the apprehension that the pacific measures which have been pursued by the present Ministers may not be adopted by those who will probably succeed them : it is however supposed that the Comte d'Aranda, late Ambassador at this Court, will be consulted upon this important occasion, and in the formation of the new Ministry, that he will in all probability be named to some high Office; should this be the case I have no doubt, from the personal knowledge I have of that Nobleman, of his using his best endeavours to preserve a perfect harmony and a most cordial friendship between the King (His Master) and His Most Christian Majesty ; for he always avowed it to be his system to cultivate and strengthen the Alliance and Connection between the two Families as being mutually advantageous to the prosperity of both Kingdoms.

It is at length finally determined to issue, without loss of time, the Letters of Convocation for assembling the States-General on the 24th of April 1789, and it is the prevailing opinion that the Assembly will be held at Versailles. No authentic copy of the Letter having as yet been made public I can only give your Lordship what is mentioned in report with respect to the contents of it : the form of Convocation, such as was observed in 1614, will, it is said, be principally adopted ; but a modification is talked of in favor of the Tiers-Etat, to whom is to be allowed a second Deputy, to be chosen by the *Bonnes Villes*, while for the Districts the

[1] Charles III, King of Spain, died 13 December 1788.

ancient form will be continued: this concession, small in itself, is so far short of the requisitions made by the Tiers-Etat, that great discontents and probably much confusion will prevail before the Convocation takes place: the Resolutions lately passed at Bordeaux, Thoulouse, and Grenoble, and which have been echoed from one end of the Kingdom to the other, contain so essentially the general sentiments of the People as could not fail to make a deep impression on the public; and the instances, that have within a short time occurred, wherein the Court has been driven to the necessity of giving way in certain points, have encouraged them to believe that unanimity and perseverance will force the King to yield to their present demands.—The Clergy and the Nobility will however for their own sakes support the Crown, and while those two Bodies and Government go hand in hand they cannot fail of carrying their point whatever be the dissentions which may result from a determined obstinacy in the third Order. It is a wise measure of Administration to keep the Nobles attached to the Sovereign: They are the natural or at least the near supporters of the Crown and consequently tenacious of its privileges equally as of their own, and jealous of any innovations that might eventually affect both the one and the other.

I send your Lordship a Letter signed by 30 Peers of the Realm, which was presented to the King last Sunday by the Ducs de Mortemart and Luynes: this mark of zeal and affection was received by His Majesty with the most flattering assurances of His Royal approbation; it is however said that many of the Nobility have expressed great dissatisfaction at this measure, disavowing the protestations contained in the Letter and considering themselves as by no means bound to an observance of them: nevertheless it is known that the majority are in favour of the sentiments thus conveyed to the King, and they must therefore be admitted as the sense of the Nobility of the Kingdom. The Peers having no legal right to assemble in a Body separately, met in a private Apartment at the Louvre and there drew up the Letter in the form in which it was afterwards presented to His Majesty.

The Deliberations of the States of Dauphiny of the 9th of this

month, authorize the Archbishop of Vienne, their President to write to M. Necker, for whom they profess much esteem, that in the whole extent of Kingdom one Deputy should be chosen for the States-General out of 40,000 Souls and that according to this proportion Dauphiny should have 30 Deputies, that is to say, 5 from the Clergy, 10 from the Nobility and 15 from the Tiers-Etat.

The Parliament sat on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday : the following is a Journal of their proceedings.

Wednesday 17.—*Les Gens du Roi* being present M. de Seguier read the Address, which I have the honor to enclose : the resolution of the Court was that the Pamphlet referred to should be burnt by the hands of the common Hang-man which has accordingly been done.

An accusation against the *Petition des Citoyens domiciliés à Paris*, which I have also sent inclosed, was next entered upon, but a decree interposed ordering the Syndic, the Notaries, Les Gardes des six Corps and the Printer of the Petition to attend the Parliament on the following day.

Opinions were taken in regard to the *Mémoire des Princes* (herewith inclosed) and several Members testified their approbation of it.

Thursday 18th. The Printer, the Sindic *des Notaires*, Le S. Perrein Notary, and les Gardes des six Corps underwent an examination.

Friday 19th. M. Guillotin,[1] Physician, Author of the *Petition* was examined : as soon as he was withdrawn, the Court, having taken the opinions of the Members, which lasted two hours, gave sentence that the Copies of the Petition signed in the presence of the Notaries be deposited by them in the course of 24 hours in the Rolls, and the said Notaries are expressly forbid to receive in future similar signatures as being calculated to injure the confidence due to their Office : the *Gardes des six Corps* were at the same time enjoined not to send any more circular Letters solliciting signatures.

[1] In addition to his proposal to double the Tiers État, he proposed, in 1789, to make capital punishment uniform and to adopt decapitation, hitherto reserved for nobles. His name was given to the Guillotine.

There was not any order given for the suppression of the above-mentioned Pamphlet.

The Guard of Paris is to be augmented, Government having decided that 480 men shall be added to the Infantry and 128 to the Cavalry.

The Police of Paris permits the game of Faro to be played in private Societies as was the case a few years ago, and it is imagined that this species of gambling, disadvantageous and ruinous as it is known to be, will be winked at by the Parliament for the sake of the considerable annual stipend which the Police will derive from the holders of the Banks who are to pay a large sum for this indulgence to be appropriated to extraordinary expences : Several Persons have already applied for leave to open Banks.

The great distress of the Poor during the uncommon inclemency of the weather excited the attention and compassionate relief of many of the Opulent Inhabitants of this City, but their Serene Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Orleans have, far beyond all others, eminently distinguished Themselves upon the occasion by their very liberal donations ; the particulars of which your Lordship will see by the enclosed Copy (from the Journal de Paris) of the Letter from the Duc d'Orleans Intendant to the Curate of the Parish of St. Eustache : the distribution therein directed commenced last Sunday....

DESPATCHES FROM PARIS

JAN.-DEC. 1789

1789

1 DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
1 Jan. 1789.

This day His Majesty and the Royal Family received the compliments of the Nobility and Foreign Ministers at Versailles : After the usual ceremony of high Mass, which was performed in the Royal Chapel, the Prince de Luxemburg and M. de Brienne, late Secretary at War, were received Knights of the Holy Ghost, and were invested by His Majesty with the Insignia of that Order : the other nine vacancies were none of them filled up : it was confidently reported that the Duc de Chartres, eldest son of the Duc d'Orleans, would be named, which however did not take place, nor would that nomination have been to one of the vacancies ; Princes of the Blood not being included in the established number.

The *Résultat du Conseil d'Etat du Roi* just published is herewith enclosed, to which is annexed M. Necker's *Rapport* which is exceedingly well drawn up, but how far the Clergy and the Nobility will approve the innovations thereby attempted in the Constitution time will shew : the pretensions of the Tiers-Etat are fully explained in M. Necker's Publication and if intrigue and cabal can subside upon any one important occasion in this country an impartial person may conclude that the Minister's plan, which at once appears both reasonable and practicable, must tend in a great measure to abate the fermentation which has so long subsisted throughout the Kingdom. The Letters of Convocation are not yet issued but they will be distributed in the course of a very few days.

Many of the Young Nobility are anxiously desirous of being

chosen Representatives at the approaching Assembly of the States-General, and with the hope of recommending themselves to be nominated are preparing to go to their respective Provinces, where their several interests give them pretensions to such a distinction.

The Frost which there was reason to hope the middle of last week had effectually given way returned towards the latter end of it with increased severity and since yesterday has been attended with a very heavy fall of snow : the consequent distress of the many poor Families whose support depended wholly on their daily labour, of which they are now deprived, is both lamentable and alarming ; for the private donations of humane and generous Individuals can scarcely be sufficient to alleviate in a material degree to the extent of the misery that prevails, nor, it is to be feared, do such donations in general reach those objects who are most in need and, it may be added, are most worthy of relief ; who cannot work to earn a subsistence, and will not condescend to exhibit the poverty under which they are suffering.

I omitted to mention to your Lordship last week that the Duc de Harcourt had been unamimously chosen a Member of the Academie Françoise in the room of the late Maréchal de Richlieu, and that M. de Nicolai, Premier Président de la Chambre des Comptes had been elected a Member of that Society in the room of the Marquis de Chatellux lately deceased. A few days since the Chevalier de Boufflers, Governor of Senegal, took his seat in that Academy, occupied by the late Archbishop of Lyons. The two former have not yet been received.

The Dauphin's health continues in an improving state, and though there are little hopes of his recovering from the deformity of his Body, there are not at present any apprehensions for his life. His Royal Highness did not receive the Foreign Ministers this day.

The States of Languedoc, which were to have assembled in November but were deferred on account of the Notables, are to meet the middle of this month, and the Archbishop of Narbonne (Dillon) will leave Paris next Monday in order to hold them.

The Duc de Guines is at this time presiding the States of Artois.

Letters from Spain mention that Mons. de Florida Blanca will certainly retire from the management of the King's Affairs, and Mons. de Fernan Nuney, His Catholic Majesty's Ambassador at this Court is said to stand very high in the opinion of the new Monarch and therefore not unlikely to be called upon to take some active Department in the Spanish Cabinet.

Mons. de la Vauguyon is much disappointed at not being able to take advantage of the leave of absence he had just obtained to return home upon his private Affairs : He was preparing to set out for Paris a few days previous to His late Catholic Majesty's illness, but must now necessarily remain some weeks longer at his Station.

Mons. Necker has renewed for six months the Arrêt, which expired this day, dispensing the Caisse d'Escompte from paying more than a thousand-livre note at a time. The Caisse d'Escompte had on the 31st December 1788, thirty-one millions in Specie.

I have the honor to send your Lordship herewith inclosed a Packet from Sir Robert Ainslie which I received last Tuesday.

P.S. 9 o'Clock. P.M.

Lanyun, the Messenger, is but this moment arrived with your Lordship's Despatch No. 30, to which due attention shall be paid : this delay was owing to the Packet's not having reached Calais 'till yesterday morning.

I have just learned by a Person arrived this Evening from Versailles, that His Majesty did nominate the Duc de Chartres to the Order of the Holy Ghost, after the other ceremony was over.

The last Letters from Vienna mention the arrival there of the Marechal Laudoun.

2. Dorset to Carmarthen.

8. Jan. 1789.

Intelligence from all quarters has of late been much retarded by the extreme severity of the weather which renders the roads in many places impassable and has occasioned several fatal accidents to the Couriers who conduct the Mails, some of whom have been lost in the snow and others have perished through the intenseness of the cold ; an instance of which occurred last week between

St. Germains and Paris, the man who was bringing the mail having been so benumbed by the cold as to have entirely lost the use of his limbs, and, though every means were used upon his arrival at the Post Office to restore him, he died a short time after he was taken into the house. The wretchedness of the poor people during this inclement season surpasses all description, and numbers of them must have perished but for the liberal contributions of the wealthier Inhabitants of this Capital.

Their Majesties and all the Royal Family have given largely for the relief of the poor in and about Versailles ; but His Majesty's bounty is extended to every Province of the Kingdom, a considerable sum of money having been issued from the Royal Treasury expressly for this charitable purpose.

At the late Meeting of the States of Brittanny the Comte de Thiard found himself under the necessity on the second day (the first had passed off very quietly) of adjourning it on account of the turbulent spirit of the populace who assembled and were joined by a large body of the Tiers-Etat from Nantes and Quimper, when they entered into strong resolutions, and among others, they came to an agreement not to pay any Taxes nor to attend the States-General unless the Nobility will first advance towards the exigencies of the State 50 Millions as an equivalent to the surplus which the Tiers-Etat pretend to have already paid : another condition insisted on by them is that in future the Officers of His Most Christian Majesty's Army shall in future be composed of their Body in an equal proportion as of the Nobility ; that they shall also enjoy the like priveleges and be admissible to ecclesiastical dignities in common with the higher order of His Majesty's subjects :—These terms, however preposterous they may appear at the first view, serve nevertheless to shew the spirit of resistance which prevails and the embarrassments to which Government is exposed. The Comte de Thiard adjourned the Assembly of the States at Rennes to the 4th of February and in the mean time has required from Government Instructions for his future conduct.

Many of the Nobility will soon leave Paris in order to attend the Meetings of the States in the different Provinces to be held in the

course of this month and the next : The Duc de Castries will set out to-morrow to be present at the States of Languedoc which are to meet the 15th Inst.

It is not yet known what effect M. Necker's late Publication has produced in the Provinces : at Paris it has certainly met with great applause.

The fermentation continues throughout the Kingdom but nowhere in so violent a degree as at Rennes.

This Court is expecting with much anxiety news from Spain, no authentic advices having been received from Madrid since the account of His late Catholic Majesty's death. I am inclined to think that it is the object of the Cabinet of Versailles to remain if possible quiet spectators of the transactions of the other Parts of Europe at this critical moment ; France having too many distresses of Her own to admit of Her attempting at present to regain that ascendancy in the general balance to which she has before pretended ; it may be presumed nevertheless that this Court would wish to protect Sweden against the resentment of Russia which is to be apprehended from the tone and manner with which Her Imperial Majesty has hitherto rejected the offers of mediation that have been made to Her.

There are no Letters of a late date from the Russian Army before Oczakow, but as it is understood that the Blockade of that Place was to be continued through the winter, it is not improbable that the Court of Russia will wait the issue of a renewal of the siege in the spring before any terms of accomodation either on the part of Sweden or of the Porte will be listened to : In the mean time I am persuaded that this Court would go great lengths to obtain from Russia some assurance that a degree of lenity shall be observed towards Sweden.

I have received the following information respecting the works at Cherbourg, which corroborates in a great degree the accounts I had the honor to transmit to your Lordship some time back :—a Person lately arrived from that Port, who has considered the Works with attention and whose fidelity may be relied on, says that the original idea of forming a Harbour by means of Cones is entirely

laid aside, so much so, that one which has been some time in readiness to be launched, remains still on the shore : that the present plan is to construct a Dike to extend five miles merely for the purpose of protecting the Vessels, but there is every reason to imagine that this scheme will prove ineffectual on account of the force of the Sea, when with certain winds it sets into the Harbour with such violence as not to be resisted. A few of the Cones still remain, about five of them, which it is pretended are of some advantage to the shipping, but a proof of the contrary is that two Line-of-Battle Ships, now stationed there, have found it necessary to lower their Top-Masts and Yards and to take the same precautions as if exposed to all accidents : the Forts for the protection of the Harbour are so strong that no enemy's Ships could possibly enter : Fort Artois has three tiers of Guns, the lowest carrying 48 pounders.

The Public wait with much impatience the Letters of Convocation which will certainly be issued the 15th of this Month, and will no doubt appear with all the delicacy in the wording of them that can have been devised.

The Pope has disposed of two Cardinal Hats, one of them to the ex-minister the Archbishop of Sens ; the other to the Grand Almoner of France, (Montmorency) Bishop of Metz : it is remarkable that this is the first instance of any one of that illustrious Family receiving this mark of distinction from the Court of Rome.

The Archbishop of Sens is now Cardinal de Lomesnie, and the Grand Almoner of France—Cardinal de Montmorency.

The Letter of Exile of the Cardinal de Rohan is positively withdrawn with this restriction, that he should neither reside at Paris, nor at Versailles : He has in consequence quitted the Abbey of Marmontin in order to remove to his Episcopal Palace of Saverne, where it is imagined he now is.

3. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
15 Jan. 1789.

The severity of the weather has at length relaxed, and the thaw which has succeeded having already lasted some days with great

mildness gives hopes for a continuation of it, and that the poorer sort of people have nothing further to apprehend from the inclemency of the season.

The last accounts from Britanny are very alarming, and the situation of the Nobility must be exceedingly embarrassing and unpleasant to them.

I mentioned to your Lordship in my Despatch of last week that the Comte de Thiard had found himself under the necessity of adjourning the States of that Province assembled at Rennes on account of the turbulent spirit of the populace in conjunction with a large Body of the Tiers-Etat : I have however learned since that the confusion which prevailed at the Meeting made it impossible for the Comte de Thiard to put his orders into execution, the States therefore remained in Assembly for some days : the Nobility having possession of the Assembly-House continued their sittings by relieving one another without intermission when the last Letters came away.

The demands of the Tiers-Etat are so exorbitant that the Nobility, attached as they are to their honours and ancient privileges, cannot accede to them and the worst consequences are accordingly to be apprehended ; a private Letter from Rennes goes so far as to say that a second St. Barthelemi is likely to befall the Nobles if they persist in refusing their assent to the terms proposed, as the people are all armed and seem to wait only for a signal to fall upon them : this account it is hoped may be somewhat exaggerated, but it is certain that the Nobility keep a regular guard among themselves and never appear in the streets without arms : various conjectures are formed in regard to this violence of disposition amongst the Tiers-Etat, and there are suspicions that the Court has employed secret means of encouraging their resentment against the Nobility with a view to effectuate a change in the constitution of Britanny, which, on account of its peculiar privileges, has been long very troublesome to Government and is at last become totally unmanageable ; by this division amongst these two orders, the King, it may be expected, will be applied to for His interference by one or other of them, and thus may possibly

derive the power of new modelling the Constitution of the Province : — if Britanny, after the example of Dauphiny, had kept the three Orders united and had preserved a concurrence of opinion in regard to the proportions of their Deputies to the States-General, Government must have acceded to their plan, but having taken a line of conduct so different, that Province, unsupported by others, will probably find itself in the end the victim of its own intemperance and indiscretion : the following account from Rennes is an instance in proof of the ill-blood which prevails : — At a public Theatrical Representation there one of the Noblesse appeared in the Boxes with his hat on : the Parterre, who felt themselves insulted by this innovation, insisted on his taking it off, with which he immediately complied, but another person of the Nobility, imagining that the contest was then, between the two Orders, purposely shewed himself in the same manner, and on the former requisition being made with much clamour, he threw his hat into the Parterre desiring that anyone objecting to his conduct should step forward and avow his dis-approbation : the consequence of so violent an act was a tumult throughout the House and it was with the utmost difficulty the Parterre were appeased and this only by representing to them that the offending person was young and wrong-headed, nor would they then have been satisfied had he not been taken into immediate custody, a measure since authorised by the Comte de Thiard : so slight a circumstance would on other occasions be scarcely worth mentioning, but at this moment, it serves to shew the discontent which subsists between the Orders and consequently the difficulties which must arise before the Meeting of the States-General can be finally ascertained. — Your Lordship will perceive from this situation of affairs that the States of Britanny can have no regular Meeting fixed 'till the Governor shall have received fresh Instructions from His Majesty. — Twenty four Deputies from the Tiers-Etat arrived at Paris last Tuesday and went yesterday to Versailles but I have not yet been able to learn what is the object of their mission. The Letters of Convocation for the States-General are deferred, and will not, in all probability, be issued 'till the end of next week at soonest.

I have the honor to send your Lordship inclosed the copy of a Letter from Prince Potemkin to the Russian Ambassador at Vienna, giving an account of the taking of the fortress of Oczakow by assault : it appears by the detail that the Turks held out with a determined obstinacy to the last ; this matter may however be represented in heightened colours by the Russian General in order to throw more credit on his own conduct and on the valour of the army under his command.

I have no doubt this event gives great satisfaction to this Court, but it is uncertain whether the loss of this Place of so much importance will induce the Divan to listen to proposals for an accomodation with the Imperial Courts : a total change in the Ottoman Cabinet must first take place and it is very possible that the Grand Signior if He finds himself much pressed by the populace, will be under the necessity of sacrificing the Capitan Pacha, to whom the loss of Oczakow is chiefly attributed.

I mentioned in my Despatch, No 80, that a Courier extraordinary who had arrived here from Petersburg, was proceeding with all expedition to Madrid ; I have since been informed that two Couriers arrived here nearly about the same time, one of whom remained here 'till within these few days, when he was dispatched back to Petersburg on the arrival of a Courier from the French Ambassador at Vienna : the secrecy observed upon this occasion does not allow the means of penetrating into the business at present upon the Tapis, but I have no doubt that some important negotiation is agitating which, had not the sudden death of His Catholic Majesty occurred to stop its progress, might have been brought by this time to some degree of forwardness.

Letters of a very late date from Vienna mention that the Emperor was returned thither in a very dangerous state of health, and that He is, on that account, very desirous of having an accomodation between the belligerent Powers : His disorder was at first a pleurisy, but is now judged to be a Dropsy of the breast : should any accident happen to His Imperial Majesty the confusion of Europe would be complete. M. de Montmorin has assured me that the Emperor, according to the accounts he had received, was

in no danger, but I am rather inclined to give credit to my private intelligence.

The Bishop of Metz wlll not receive his Cardinal Hat before March.....

4. Dorset to Carmarthen.

22 Jan. 1789.

I have received your Lordship's Despatch No. I, with the several Papers inclosed, to which I shall pay all due attention : — the Messenger did not arrive 'till after my return from Versailles on Tuesday, but I shall have an opportunity of mentioning to the French Minister in the course of a few days the business recommended in your Lordship's Letter, when I shall endeavour to obtain, for the information of the Committee, authorized to act for the Mortgagees of Tobago, a copy of the Order which the French Minister may send to the Government of that Island.

The breaking-up of the weather has been attended with little if any damage in the environs of the Capital, but in the neighbourhood of Orleans the Loire has overflowed its banks and laid waste a very fertile Country of at least three leagues in extent, by which several poor Families are reduced to the utmost distress : a part also of the great Causeway between Orleans and Blois has been carried away by the violence of the Torrent and most of the Craft upon that River have been dashed to pieces.

Nothing material respecting the Affairs of Britanny has transpired since last week, excepting the inclosed printed Proceedings of the Nobility of that Province, which confirms the accounts that had been received of the great disunion subsisting between the Nobility and the Tiers-Etat : — Notwithstanding the ardent desire expressed by the Nobles, in their Declaration conciliating the People, very little effect has as yet been produced by this measure, and unless some means can be devised of satisfying the Nobility, much confusion may be expected if they obstinately persist in the same line of conduct. His Majesty has not yet given any answer to the Deputation from the Tiers-Etat of Britanny ; the Deputies still remaining at Paris.

The Nobility of France-Comte and Burgundy have protested against every measure which tends to give to the Tiers-Etat a preponderance at the States General, insisting upon voting by Order, and not, as has been proposed, individually.

Normandy appears at present to be the most favourably disposed towards Government and has shewn a readiness to conform to any determination His Majesty may think proper to recommend for the good of his People and the advantage of the Kingdom: this Province has given testimony of its admiration of and respect for the abilities and integrity of M. Necker.

The Letters of Convocation, which have been again delayed, are many of them already printed and will be issued, if not this week, certainly in the course of the next.

I have the honor to send your Lordship the *Arrêt du Conseil d'Etat du Roi* confirming the deliberations of the Stock-holders of the Caisse d'Escompte for a Loan of 25 millions at 5 pr Ct.

A Donation of 53,000 livres was made from this Fund for the relief of the Poor of this City during the late severe weather. It was said last week that the *six Corps de Marchands* of the City of Paris had offered to Government 12 Millions of livres upon the same terms, but I understand that no such proposal has been received : — It is beyond a doubt that the Minister of the Finances stands very high at this moment in the public opinion, yet many people suspect and some go so far as to express a conviction that a change in that important Department is meditated, declaring that a short time will prove such a conjecture to have been well founded : I cannot however for my own part imagine that any removal can be in agitation at a moment so critical as the present.

A late Publication by the Comte de Mirabeau, entitled *L'Histoire secrette de la Cour de Berlin* has made so much noise here that I am induced to send it to your Lordship.

The Prussian Minister has made a formal complaint to the French Minister of the scurrility and abuse exhibited in this work highly injurious to the character of His Prussian Majesty as well as of several respectable Persons connected with the Court of Berlin : That Minister received an assurance from M. de Montmorin that

public notice would be taken of the Publication by the Court, and that he was persuaded that the Parliament of Paris would proceed judicially against the author of it. The Comte de Mirabeau is at present in Province, for which province he expects to be chosen one of the Delegates of the Nobility to the States-General.

This gentleman has likewise just published a correspondence that passed between himself and the Abbé Cerutti, on the subject of the Rapport of M. Necker : these Letters are much read and are among the reasons given for the removal of that Minister. A letter from the Abbé Cerutti in the Journal de Paris, which I have the honor to send your Lordship, proves how little he expected that his private correspondence with the Comte de Mirabeau would be made public.

A letter from Mr. Hailes, dated Warsaw the 31st of December, which I received a few days ago, mentions that the loss sustained by the Russians in the assault by which they gained possession of Oczakow amounted to six thousand men, amongst whom were three General Officers Dolgorucki, Volkonski, and Gorick, and that many other Officers of rank perished.

This account differs widely from that sent hither by the Russian Ambassador at Vienna.

Official letters have been received here from Petersburg mentioning an account having arrived in that Capital of the surrender of Oczakow, but without giving any particulars of the losses sustained on either side. The system of economy which pervades every Department of the State puts a stop to the amusements which have usually taken place at Versailles at this season of the year : on this account the Balls, which 'till last winter were given at Court by Their Majesties are still discontinued.

On Friday last there was an Assembly of the Parliament, on which occasion Letters Patent for the nomination of a Commission, composed of Magistrates of the Council and Parliament for the reform of the Criminal Laws were registered.

M. Dupuy, formerly *Conseiller au Chatelêt* is just appointed Intendant of the Islands of France and Bourbon with an income of 40,000 livres.

The Dauphin is so much better that the Physicians give very flattering hopes of His Royal Highness's perfect recovery.

5. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
29 Jan. 1789.

The breaking up of the frost has been attended with great mischief in the Environs of Lyons, as well as in the Country bordering upon the Loire ; but I understand that no damage whatever had been sustained at Bordeaux, nor at any of the Commercial Towns in that part of the Kingdom.

The misery and distress which prevailed so visibly among the poorer sort of people in this Capital during the hard weather, is no longer observed ; the present succession of mild weather enabling them to pursue their several occupations and to provide by their industry their usual means of support.

The long expected Letters of Convocation are not yet issued : it is however necessary that they should be sent in the course of this week, as the proceedings in the election of Deputies will be guided by the form and tenor of these Letters : it is considered as certain that all those for *Les Pays d'Election* will be sent off to-morrow, and those for *Les Pays d'Etat et les Provinces conquises* some few days hence : it is said they are addressed to the Governors or Commanders of Provinces who will deliver them to the *Grands Baillifs*, these Baillages will produce 250 Deputations at four Members each, amounting to 1000 Deputies exclusive of 32 who will be elected for Paris : the several Elections will be finished the 20th of March, but the convocation is for the 30th of April : the Place where the Assembly is to meet is not yet fixed upon, but it is generally hoped that it will be at Versailles.

Sixty Presses have been employed since Sunday last in printing the Letters of Convocation in which are inserted rules and instructions at large. — Everything is at this moment in a state of suspense, attended with no small degree of anxiety, particularly on the part of the Nobility, by whom M. Necker is suspected of being at work to infringe upon their privileges by endeavoring to give a preponderance in favor of the Tiers-Etat at the States-General : this

circumstance is sufficient to raise many enemies against the Comptroller-General especially among the Courtiers who, common report says, are resolved upon effecting his removal, though it is well known that that Minister continues to enjoy the fullest confidence of his Sovereign. M. Necker having been informed of the many abuses that have been committed as well in the collecting as in the payment of the Capitation Tax, as also that it was a general custom to *s'abonner* for life to the very great detriment of the Revenue, has issued an order at the Trésor Royal, that there will be a stoppage of all Donations, Pensions, Wages, and appointments to all those who do not produce a duplicate for their Receipt for the payment of their Capitation for the year 1788, as well as for preceding years : it is imagined that this measure will produce a sum amounting to seven or eight millions.

The Deputies of the Parliament of Rennes, now at Paris, received on Sunday last the answer to their representations by which they are informed that Letters Patent will be sent to that Court, strictly forbidding all unlawfull Meetings, for the sure execution of which it will be permitted to have recourse to force in case of necessity.

By the last Letters from Rennes it appears that the Parliament had confined the Principals of many of the Parishes for having permitted the Inhabitants to hold Assemblies.

About a fortnight ago the Cardinal de Rohan left his residence in Touraine and repaired to his Diocese in Alsace : His Eminence was forbid to pass through Paris, but he went by way of Charenton, near to this City, whither several of his Relations went to meet him : a vast concourse of people attended also at the same place and testified their satisfaction at seeing him by repeated exclamations of *Vive le Roi et Vive le Cardinal :* four Doctors of the Sorbonne attended likewise to compliment His Eminence, but as this was a measure of their own, without the consent of the rest of that learned Body, it is expected they will receive a severe reprimand for their conduct.

L'Histoire Secrette de la Cour de Berlin, by the Comte de Mirabeau, which I had the honor to send your Lordship last week, is

to be *denoncée* before the Parliament without delay, and would already have been, had not the death of M. d'Ormesson, the lately-appointed Premier President, which happened last Tuesday, put a stop to all proceedings in the Courts of Parliament :

M. de Sarron, one of the Presidents à Mortier, will, it is said, succeed to that dignity.

His Majesty sent for a Deputation of the Parliament to attend Him last Sunday at Versailles, when He delivered, in a very dignified manner, into M. de Seguier, the Attorney General's hands, M. de Mirabeau's Book, at the same time recommending that a prosecution against the Author of so scandalous a publication should be commenced : under these circumstances it is very improbable that M. de Mirabeau, unless the spirit of party interferes very powerfully in his favor, will be chosen one of the Deputies for Provence for the approaching States-General.

No accounts have been received this week from any of the Foreign Courts : the last Letters from Vienna speak of His Imperial Majesty as being in a state of convalescence, and that He was so far recovered as to have been present at a Drawing-Room.

His Imperial Majesty is said to be much emaciated but that there did not remain any dangerous symptoms in His indisposition.

In regard to foreign politics there is so much secrecy observed as scarcely to leave room for any conjecture at what may be in agitation : this reserve may naturally have arisen both from the very unsettled state of the internal Affairs of this Country and of those of other Powers : it is however sufficiently apparent that the disposition of this Court with respect to that of Vienna is always the same, and it may be surmised that France is watching a favorable opportunity to undermine us if possible in our present good understanding with Prussia : nor do I doubt that every advantage will be taken of Prince Henry's present residence in this Capital to endeavor to weaken our alliance with the Court of Berlin.

His Royal Highness is well known to be favorably disposed towards this Country : I trust however that our credit with the Prussian Monarch is too firmly established to admit of any

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apprehensions of a change of system that can tend to lessen it. The taking of Oczakow is a pleasing event to this Court in as much as it may be the means of helping the Emperor out of His present difficulties, but on the other hand any advantages gained by Her Imperial Majesty over the Turks may render Her less disposed to treat with the King of Sweden whose critical situation causes much anxiety at Versailles.

The last Letters from Madrid do not make mention of any considerable changes having taken place in the Spanish Cabinet: His Catholic Majesty has lately bestowed the Order of the Golden-Fleece on H. S. H. the Duke of Bourbon, the Duc de Vauguyon (Minister at that Court from France) and on the Prince de Beaufrement a near Relation of that Minister.

The Dauphin, notwithstanding the favorable account I sent your Lordship last week of His state of health, has relapsed, owing it is supposed to the change of weather, and is now in so weak a condition as to excite much apprehension in the Physicians who attend Him:

His Royal Highness was something better yesterday, but I conceive that little hopes are entertained of His arriving at years of maturity....

6. Dorset to Carmarthen.
1 Feb. 1789.

As your Lordship will probably have heard of a serious dispute which has lately happened at Rennes between the Nobility and the Tiers-Etat, I think it right to make you acquainted with the real cause of it, and with the disagreeable consequences of which an account has been received here.

On the 26th of last month a servant, belonging to one of the Nobles, struck at one of the people, upon what provocation I have not heard, with a knife and wounded him; an alarm was immediately given and the populace fell upon the Nobility, two of whom were in the conflict left dead, and some others wounded. The Comte de Thiard took every precaution in his power to prevent the further effusion of blood, and has already assembled at Rennes

two Regiments of Cavalry, but unless more troops be sent thither immediately, a repetition of the like disturbances may, it is thought, be apprehended.

What renders this dilemma more unfortunate at this time is the circumstance of the States having been fixed to assemble on the 3rd of this month ; on which occasion no soldiery can, according to established rule, advance within a limited distance from the Place where such Meeting is held.

The People of Geneva have mutinied, but the Military have driven them from the Upper to the Lower Town : The rise of Bread was the pretence for this tumult ; but the real cause was a desire of forcing the Magistrates to alter some Laws which were enacted, to their prejudice, in 1782.

Some Soldiers and several of the Citizens lost their lives upon the occasion, and others of both parties were much wounded.

To-morrow, being Candlemas-day, His Serene Highness the Duc de Chartres will be invested with the Insignia of the Order of the Holy Ghost.

P.S. Letters from Franche-Comté mention that much mischief has been done by the overflowing of the several Rivers in the neighbourhood of Besançon since the breaking up of the frost.

7. Dorset to Carmarthen.

5 Feb. 1789.

...Several private accounts from Rennes exaggerate the number of persons who are said to have lost their lives since the commencement of the tumults at that Place, but I hear from better authority that no mischief has attended the outrages excepting on the first day of them, the 26th. The situation of the Nobles has however continued to be truly alarming from the threats and actual insults to which they have been exposed whenever they have been seen going to the Assembly-House ; and the populace, not content with this, have even proceeded to threaten the lives of their wives and children if the opposition to the wishes of the Tiers-Etat, for an equal representation at the States-General, is not given up.

The situation of the Comte de Thiard, who has hitherto conducted himself with a degree of prudence and moderation that does him great honor, is become truly critical from the extreme difficulty his endeavors to reconcile the contending Parties must meet with : that Governor has only nine-hundred regular Troops in the Town of Rennes, and there are at least ten-thousand armed Citizens prepared to support the people's cause : these are hourly joined by large Parties from the great commercial Towns in that Province as Nantes, Quimper, St. Maloes, and Vannes.

Much mischief it was apprehended would ensue if the States should meet, as was fixed, on the 3rd Inst., but it is supposed they must have been adjourned and that they would be held at St. Brieux, and that the Comte de Langeron will be appointed to command at Rennes during the absence of M. de Thiard who must attend at the holding of the States. The fermentation which has already so strongly manifested itself in Britanny seems to be spreading gradually to every Province of the Kingdom in such a manner, as to make it urgently necessary for Government to have recourse to some serious mode of proceeding against the male-contents as the only means now left to prevent the disposition to civil discord from becoming universal and unrestrainable. Letters from Caën mention that a large Party of the Students of the University, attended by a number of the Town-People, left that Place a few days ago in order to repair to Rennes, and it is said that a numerous Body of the Citizens of Poictiers left that Provincial Capital with the same view. The printed Paper herewith inclosed, giving a detail of the proceedings at Rennes on the first day of the tumult, is allowed to be pretty exact as to facts, and has been distributed publicly to passengers in the streets of Paris : it must be thought somewhat extraordinary that Government should not have endeavored to stop the circulation of an account so degrading, as that is, to the Nobility, who, I am persuaded would defend their privileges to the last drop of their blood : but such is now become the situation of things in this Country that every species of scurrility is indulged without the dread of those severe consequences which 'till within a short space of time

inevitably followed upon discovery : His Majesty does not now venture to order the confinement of a Citizen in the Bastile upon every frivolous pretext :—There are frequent arrivals of Deputies at Versailles from Britanny.

M. de Mirabeau's Publication, which I mentioned to your Lordship in my Despatch No. 5 (see No. 7) has not yet been *denoncée* by M. Seguier, but it will be laid before Parliament in the course of a few days.

The Bookseller who printed it has absconded but the Comte de Mirabeau is at Aix en Provence making interest to be elected a Member of the States-General.

The Letters of Convocation for, what is called, Old France (L'Ancienne France) are already issued but I have not yet been so fortunate as to be able to procure a copy to send to your Lordship; those for the *Pays d'Etat* and, what is called, *les Pays conquis* will be deferred some days longer : the whole number, printed for distribution, is 126,000, notwithstanding which it will, I understand, be difficult if possible to get a copy of the Letter for some time to come.

The Letters announce the Meeting of the States-General for the 27th of April next : it is said that M. Necker wished the Assembly should be held at Paris, but his opinion was over-ruled by the rest of the Ministers who conceived that there might be great danger of disturbance from the ungovernable spirit of the populace of this City, and Versailles is therefore the Place finally decided upon.

M. Necker, although he has great and many difficulties to encounter, seems to stand his ground very well ; the Stocks have risen gradually during the last ten days, which is certainly to be considered as a favourable circumstance for him, and, which perhaps is the best security for that Minister's continuing in Office, His Majesty would not easily find a successor to M. Necker, if He should be necessitated to dismiss him.

The troubles at Geneva must, it is natural to suppose, greatly interest M. Necker, and he would no doubt employ his present influence to induce this Court to take an active part on the present

occasion, did not the fallen state of the finances of this Country, make such a measure impracticable.

The last Letters from the Republic represent everything there to be in the utmost confusion, and that many of the Soldiers, seduced by the people, had deserted their posts and joined the popular Party ; since which they have jointly paraded the Town to preserve order and tranquillity waiting the decision of the Magistrates which if not favourable to the wishes of the people will inevitably induce consequences that may be very fatal to the State. These Letters are dated the 30th Ult. : and I do not learn that there are any accounts of later date.

Two Couriers passed through this City about five days ago from Madrid to Petersburg ; they brought Despatches for this Court but the contents of them have not yet transpired.

Private Letters from Madrid mention that the new Government in Spain began and has hitherto been conducted with great moderation and also with a strict economy.

We hear from Tours that on the 22nd of last month at 9 o'clock at night four arches of the Stone bridge of that Town, which was constructed not more than 10 years ago, were destroyed by the weight of ice to which was added that of the whole woodwork of the Bridge of Amboise which had been entirely carried away : this accident is the more to be regretted as, by it, the communication to Bordeaux, by the great road, is cut off, and it will require at least three years to repair the Bridge.

The Dauphin's health continues in the same uncertain state, and not mended since last week.

On Monday last after the reception of the Duc de Chartres as Knight of the Holy-Ghost His Majesty was pleased to name the Duc de Berri, second son to the Comte d'Artois, and His Royal Highness will be invested with the Insignia of that order at Whitsuntide.

M. de Serron succeeds M. d'Ormesson lately deceased, as *Premier President du Parliament de Paris.*

P.S. I have just heard from undoubted authority that tranquility is in some degree restored at Rennes by the States having consent-

ed to separate : two of the Orders, the Clergy and the Nobility, agreed at the same time to pay the Imports as usual : the third Order was still assembled when the Courier came away but it was hoped that they would join their assent with that of the other two.

8. Dorset to Carmarthen.
12 Feb. 1789.

I have received your Lordship's Despatch No. 1, informing me of the Proceedings of the two Houses of Parliament.

I had the honor of transmitting to your Lordship by a Person who left Paris last Monday, a Packet containing the Despatches which I had received from Sir Robert Ainslie, to be forwarded to London ; the which I trust will have been faithfully delivered.

Everything is at present quiet at Rennes, although the Tiers-Etat have not as yet consented to the same terms as the Clergy and Nobility agreed to when they separated : it therefore remains to be seen whether the Tiers-Etat will submit to pay the Taxes as usual 'till the next Meeting of the States of that Province, which, as I have informed your Lordship, has been put off, by the King's Order, for a twelve-month.

A great degree of fermentation prevails in many of the Provinces, particularly in Languedoc : the Archbishop of Narbonne opened the States there with apparent probability of succeeding in what he had been directed to undertake ; but as soon as it was perceived that all the measures proposed were those of the Court, and that the principal part of the Assembly were creatures of the Archbishop, an immediate and a general dissatisfaction took place : He himself has been on many occasions personally insulted, and though he has written to the Ministry for redress and for further Instructions, it does not appear probable that they will venture to grant him the one, or be able to assist him with respect to the other.

The Parliament of Besançon has revoked the Order of the King's Council and has invalidated its own Proceedings : a mode somewhat similar to that of the Parliament of Paris last year and likely to be attended with similar consequences of fermentation in that Provincial Capital and its Environs.

It is thought to be almost impossible that the States-General, notwithstanding the Assembly of them is announced by the Letter of Convocation for the 27th of April, can meet so soon :—Their Majesties will it is said reside at Trianon as long as the States continue assembled at Versailles.

On Tuesday last, *L'Histoire Secrette de la Cour de Berlin* was *denoncée* by M. de Seguier in Parliament, and it is generally supposed that the Book will be burnt by the Common Hangman. Whether or not the Parliament intends to take any further notice of the Author of this Publication, is not known, but it is certain that, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of the Prussian Envoy, His Majesty is determined not to interpose his authority, but will support whatever measures the Parliament may judge expedient to adopt.—M. de Mirabeau remains at *Aix en Provence*.—

All the Commanders of Provinces have received Orders to repair without loss of time to their respective Stations and to remain there 'till the Elections of Deputies to the States-General shall be completed.

I understand also that the Field-Officers and all Colonels of Regiments will be ordered much earlier this year than usual to the several commands.

The Council of War has been engaged in digesting several new Ordinances which are expected to be soon issued ; the cloathing of the Troops has undergone several alterations under the inspection of the Duc de Guênes.

The Inhabitants of Brabant have made the most abject submission to the Emperor and are restored to favor : this example, it may be expected, will be followed in this Country if the Measures of the Court shall be carried on with success.

There is much anxiety here about the result of the Diet of Stockholm which was announced to be held on the 26th of January.

The last Letters from Vienna mention that His Imperial Majesty's health continued to mend; and that, if no unforeseen accident should arrive, He would join His army the beginning of next month.

No Letters have been received here from Constantinople of a later date than the 15th of December, the same as that of No. 47 of

Sir Robert Ainslie's Despatches, which I forwarded to your Lordship as before mentioned.

The account of the loss of Oczakow must have reached Constantinople about Christmas and has probably created much commotion amongst the people there, which may have been attended with fatal consequences to the Capitan Pacha : no conjecture seems to have been as yet formed here how far this event may operate towards inducing the Turks to listen to overtures from the Imperial Courts for an accommodation.

The Deputies of the Nobility of Britanny at present at Paris, have not hitherto been admitted to an audience of the King, and it is said that the reception they have met with from M. Necker was in no degree favorable to them. The Comte de Boisgelin who is at the head of this Deputation is still under the disgrace of the Court as the *Lettre de Cachet*, which was delivered to him last Summer, forbidding that Nobleman to appear at Versailles, has not yet been revoked.

M. de Boisgelin may see the Ministers but cannot present himself before His Majesty and of course finds himself in a very awkward predicament.

The fermentation in Burgundy is very great and particularly amongst the Order of Nobility, who it is said have sent circular Letters to nearly twelve-hundred Gentlemen, inviting them to assemble the 12th (or, as other accounts say the 15th) of this month at Dijon.

Letters from Aix mention that the States of that Province have granted the *don gratuit*, but that forty Gentlemen have signed a Protest, in which they declare that they abide by the sentiments contained in the *Mémoire des Princes.*

P.S. The tumults at Geneva are appeased for the present, and the Magistrates and the People have entered into a Negotiation by which it is hoped that Matters will be adjusted without the further effusion of blood.

9. Dorset to Carmarthen.
19 Feb. 1789.

An express was received at Versailles last Tuesday with the interesting and important intelligence that the Tiers-Etat had agreed to the resolutions which were adopted by the Clergy and Nobility at the last Meeting of the States of Britanny, and had consented that everything should remain without further discussion 'till next year when the States of that Province will be reassembled: in the meantime the Taxes will be paid as usual: thus it may be expected that there will be no interruption of the tranquility and good order during that period. The Populace is much incensed against the Parliament of Rennes, conceiving that the misunderstanding and fermentation between the Nobility and the Tiers-Etat were much aggravated by the Magistrates, and it has been with some difficulty that the Government has protected them from the fury of the rabble: the Governor however writes word that he hoped to be able to calm this violence by degrees, and to restore good order in the town of Rennes, in the course of a few days: on this account the Comte de Thiard will continue some time longer in that Capital:—Their Majesties have conveyed the most flattering assurances of their approbation of his conduct upon the last occasion, whilst his prudence and firmness through the whole of that embarrassing business are much applauded by everybody.

The affairs of Languedoc, it may be supposed, have taken a very serious turn, for an express arrived the beginning of this week from the Archbishop of Narbonne (Dillon) who represents in still stronger terms than before the necessity of his having some assistance. What is the result of the deliberations of the Cabinet upon this matter, I have not been able to learn.

There is, I understand, much fermentation also in Franche-Comté.

No small uneasiness begins to prevail from an apprehension, in consequence of the pains that have been taken by the enemies of M. Necker to make it so believed, that the Assembly of the States-General will not be held at the time promised, and that pretexts will be used by that Minister for deferring the Meeting of them in

order to gain time for the purpose of reducing the national debt in such a degree as to render the Assembly not necessary ; but it is nevertheless well known that every measure of Government has hitherto been such as must evince a very contrary disposition. The last Loan from the Caisse d'Escompte is a great temporary relief to Government and, with a view to prevent a too rapid draw upon the Caisse for specie which might interfere with the payments for which it is engaged to Government, an Order has been issued empowering the Caisse to refuse giving cash for more than one Note to any individual in the course of the day, by which means, on account of the unavoidable delay arising therefrom, no great sum of money can be paid by that Bank in a short space of time, and, though the holders of Notes may find ways of evading the regulation in some degree, it must yet be attended with much inconvenience to them, and, as may well be imagined, has created great murmurings.

The Maréchal de Stainville will leave Paris next Monday and all the other Commanders of Provinces are enjoined to repair to their several Stations with all expedition in order to superintend the election of Deputies to the States-General : Most of the young Nobility are also quitting this Capital, ambitious of being deputed to the great National Assembly.

From all that I have been able to learn there does not appear to be any intention of forming Camps this year : the present Secretary at War opposed the plan so strongly last year that it is not likely he should encourage the same at this particular moment; the measure was recommended by the Cardinal de Loménie and so strongly urged by him that, notwithstanding the representation made of the impoverished state of the Country and the enormous expence of such an undertaking, he was not to be dissuaded from his purpose : another objection at this time arises from the many new regulations which have been appointed by the Council of War, and which require a length of time to be digested and brought into use, so that it is not probable that any large Body of Troops will be assembled before next year unless some unforeseen exigency shall require it sooner.

A Deputation from the Clergy and Nobility of Britanny, composed of one Bishop, two ecclesiastics of the second order and two of the Nobility, had the honor of an audience from His Majesty last Saturday evening : the Bishop addressed His Majesty with much energy and, it is said, imputed all the misfortunes of the 26th and 27th of Jan. entirely to the Tiers-Etat.

The substance of His Majesty's answer was, that He owed justice to all ranks of His Subjects ; that He should ever grant his particular protection to the Clergy and the Nobility, that it was with the greatest concern he had heard of the excesses which had been committed at Rennes, and that Orders had been issued to proceed against the criminals.

The King has not yet permitted that the Comte de Boisgelin, President of the States of Britanny, should be presented to him.

His Majesty has nominated a Commission from the Parliament of Bordeaux to go immediately to Rennes in order to proceed against the authors of the riots committed there on the 26th and 27th of the last month.

Since the judgement pronounced and the sentence executed upon the *Histoire Secrette de ta Cour de Berlin*, which has accordingly been burnt by the common hangman, the Comte de Mirabeau has been very active at Aix en Province where he has circulated a Discourse in print which has gained him great credit in that Province.

The Court is very anxious that the Parliament of Paris should proceed against this gentleman as the author of the *Histoire Secrette* etc. with the hope of criminating him and thereby rendering him ineligible as a Deputy to the States-General, this being considered as the only chance of preventing his becoming a Member of that Assembly : but however strong and general may be the suspicion that M. de Mirabeau is the author of that Book, it seems to be a matter of doubt whether or not the Attorney-General will be able to bring the charge home to him, so as to answer the purpose intended : the general opinion is that he will not.

No particular intelligence has been received here from the Northern Courts during the last week, but private Letters from Con-

stantinople dated the 22nd of December mention that an account of the loss of Oczakow had arrived there the preceding day, in consequence of which the Divan assembled at 6 o'clock the following morning, but the news not being publickly known, no disturbance had then taken place, but it was supposed that measures would be immediately taken to guard against the violence to which it was apprehended the populace would be disposed upon receiving information of so important and unexpected an event.

Everything remained quiet at Geneva when the last Letters came away and a form of Government more favourable to the rights and claims of the people was about to be established which it was hoped would effectually secure tranquility there.

P.S. Much apprehension is entertained for the Dauphin, yet although the very weak state of His Royal Highness seems to render his existence of very uncertain duration, those who attend Him persist in saying there is no immediate danger.

10. Dorset to Carmarthen.
26 Feb. 1789.

...The last week has been productive of very little subject of information. Their Majesties have not seen much company, and the Ministers have been mostly absent from Court.

The last Letters from Britanny mention that everything remained quiet there and was likely to continue so: His Majesty has not however as yet received the Deputation from the Nobility of that Province, nor has the Comte de Boisgelin, President of that order, as yet been allowed permission to appear at Versailles.

The Princes of the Blood are in an extraordinary position respecting the States-General, as they are to be Members of that Assembly by election and not by right. The Nobility of Provence have signified in a very respectfull manner to the Comte d'Artois their earnest wish that He should be elected President of the Nobility of the Kingdom at the great National Assembly, but whether this idea will be adopted by all the other Provinces is very problematical and it appears somewhat extraordinary that this particular County should have made the first offer of this

distinguishing compliment to the Comte d'Artois in preference to Monsieur, His Elder Brother, who, besides his claim of seniority, seems to have a still further one in the title He bears of Comte de Provence.

The Duc d'Orleans is making every exertion to be chosen President of the Nobility for the district of Montargis :—what are the objects of the other Princes of the Blood I have not yet heard.

It is the intention of the Court to prepare every kind of amusement for the Members of the States-General during their residence at Versailles, and orders have already been given to the directors of the public Theatres at Paris to hold themselves in readiness to give their attendance during that period.

A Treaty of Marriage is on foot and, it is supposed, will be concluded in the course of the next summer, between the Duc d'Angoulême, eldest Son to the Comte d'Artois, and *Mademoiselle*, eldest Daughter to the Duc d'Orleans : the Duc d'Angoulême was born on the 6th of August 1775 : *Mademoiselle* was born on the 23rd of August 1777. An income of a million of livres, three hundred thousand of which is given by the Duc de Penthiévre, will be settled upon Mademoiselle, who is to come into the receipt of four hundred thousand from the day of Her Marriage, the remaining six-hundred thousand to be secured to Her at the death of the Duc d'Orleans, who besides confirms Her right of succession to whatever proportion She may be entitled to upon the partition of His Estates.

The Duc de Penthiévre, in consideration of the importance of this marriage, settles also upon His Grand-Daughter, at His decease, His House in the *Place des Victoires*.

The Duc de Berry, second Son to the Comte d'Artois, is to succeed to the Office of Grand Prior of France as soon as the above-mentioned marriage shall have taken place, when the Duc d'Angoulême necessarily must vacate it.

Another Union is much talked of but which is not supposed to be in equal forwardness—viz—the Duc de Chartres, Eldest son of the Duc d'Orleans will, it is imagined be proposed to Their Sicilian Majesties for one of their Daughters : this marriage in the

political line may be considered as of great consequence, and will, if it takes place, very materially strengthen the Union already subsisting between the French and Spanish Courts.

The Emperor, whose health is much mended, sent off all His Equipages on the 12th of this month, and proposed to set out for Hungary, in order to join the Army there, on the 20th, but of His Imperial Majesty's actual departure from Vienna, no account has yet been received.

The Dauphin, though in an almost hopeless state, has nevertheless had some intermission of the violence of His complaints within the last two or three days, but not in such a degree as to encourage any sanguine expectations of a recovery.

A circumstance took place a day or two ago which, as it shews in some degree the spirit of the times and the high notion the people are disposed to entertain of their own consequence, may not be thought unworthy of remark :—the ancient custom of going about the Streets in mask is still preserved among the lower sort of people during the few last days of the Carnival : on this occasion an idea struck some young men, a certain number of whom dressed themselves to represent the three Orders of the State, and paraded the Streets of this City in a Coach, hired for the purpose : the Coachman was habited as an Abbé, to represent the Order of the Clergy : the Persons behind the Carriage, in quality of footmen, were decorated with the Order of the Holy-Ghost, representing the Order of the Nobility, and two Savoyards were seated in the inside as Representatives of the Tiers-Etat ; this innocent raillery afforded a great deal of mirth without being productive of any disorder or unpleasant consequence.

M. de Mirabeau has publicly and solemnly, by a Letter (a copy of which I send your Lordship) that was inserted a few days ago in the Journal de Paris, disowned having been the author of the *Histoire Secrette de la Cour de Berlin :* in consequence of which it is imagined that the Parliament will not venture to continue the prosecution against him, and Government will thus lose its best, if not only, hope of preventing M. de Mirabeau's being deputed to the States-General.

P.S. ...I have just heard that the Marquis de Conflans died suddenly this morning.

11. Dorset to Carmarthen.
5 March 1789.

I must not omit to inform your Lordship that the news of His Majesty's happy recovery was received with the most sincere satisfaction of Their Most Christian Majesties, to whom I should be wanting in justice, was I to neglect to mention the real anxiety They testified during the whole of His Majesty's illness, and their earnest desire of being made acquainted with every fresh account that arrived from England, as also the probability entertained by the Physicians of His Majesty's being restored to His former health.

The Comte de Thiard arrived last night at Versailles from Rennes: the object of his journey hither, at this time, must certainly be to receive fresh Instructions for his future conduct in that Province, since, notwithstanding the favorable reports which have been circulated by friends to Government of the situation of things there, the fermentation, it is well known, is spreading throughout Britanny, insomuch that even the peasants have in many parts shewn a disposition to follow the example of the inhabitants of Nantes and Rennes. Orders have in consequence been issued for the Regiments that are quartered upon the Frontiers of Britanny to hold themselves in readiness to march on the shortest notice, and it is reported that the Maréchal de Broglie will be sent into that Province to take the command as soon as a sufficient number of Troops can be assembled for that purpose: upon the whole it should seem that things are taking a more serious turn than ever, for private accounts say that the people were forming themselves into corps, with some degree of Military discipline, and that they avow their object is to oppose the Clergy and Nobility in every measure whatever: in short a sort of phrenzy seems to have seized the body of the people in that part of the Kingdom and that nothing but force will be able to subdue it: in the meantime the Clergy, Nobility and Gentry are in a most alarming predicament,

for unless Government sends them relief they must sooner or later fall victims to the popular rage.

Several insidious hand-bills, in the Bretagne language, have been distributed about the Country to stir up the Peasants; to these bills the King's name is forged, and they import, among other things, that His Majesty's wish is to see them released from the bondage under which their Lords oppress them. None of the Authors of these inflammatory papers has yet been discovered, nor do I understand that Government has taken any measures to that effect.

His Majesty did not receive the Foreign Ministers last Tuesday, nor, which was rather extraordinary, did M. de Montmorin come to Paris to receive them, and it will have been a month next Tuesday since he last gave audiences to the Corps Diplomatique.

From the delays naturally arising in so complicated a business as the assembling the States-General it is not surprizing that the meeting of them cannot take place so early as the day announced viz, the 26th of next month; for how long a period it may be deferred I have at present no conjecture, but it is reasonable to suppose that M. Necker must be anxious to remove all difficulties towards the accomplishment for an event so devoutly wished for by the Nation.

During the meeting of the States-General Their Majesties will reside at Marly and at Trianon alternately. The City of Paris will shortly receive the Letters of Convocation: Those for Provence and Britanny will also be sent without loss of time.

The Archbishops of Bordeaux and Lyons have each published a form of prayer, to be publicly read in their respective Dioceses imploring a successfull issue of the deliberations of the States-General, convoqued by the King: The production of the former of these Prelates is replete with good sense and principles of moderation, recommending the strictest attention to good-order and harmony in that Assembly, and consequently meets with the most general approbation: on the contrary that of the Archbishop of Lyons (who notwithstanding the immense patronage he possesses in Church preferment, openly opposes the views of Govern-

ment) principally consists of quotations from Isaiah and other Prophets in the Old Testament predictive of unfortunate events, and applies them to the present situation of the Affairs of this Kingdom.

Another Treaty of Marriage is on foot and will shortly be concluded between the Duc d'Enghien, Son to the Duc de Bourbon, and a young Princess of Parma. I am now able to confirm to your Lordship the Marriage, of which I made mention last week, of the Duc de Chartres to one of the Neapolitan Princesses : it is also generally believed that Madame, the King's Daughter, is betrothed to the eldest son of the King of Naples.

The union of the Duc de Chartres with a Princess of Naples, though it may have the consent of Their Most Christian Majesties, may possibly be not perfectly agreeable to them since, in case the Dauphin or the Duc de Normandie shall arrive at years of maturity, they will necessarily have recourse to the same connection.

These Marriages tend to cement indissolubly the several Branches of the House of Bourbon which must at all times be a matter of great importance to the Interests of Great Britain.

His Most Christian Majesty has expressed great concern at the death of the Marquis de Conflans, who was universally allowed to be one of the best Officers in the service of his Country : His Regiment of Hussars is given to the Comte de Lusace, Uncle by his Mother's side to the King, and a General Officer in the French Service. The Marquis de Conflans' other military appointments are not yet disposed of : All his landed property, supposed to be of the yearly value of £12,000 sterling, goes to his widow, and will at her death be equally divided between the two Daughters, the Duchesse de Montbazon and the Marquise de Coigny.

P.S. The Queen came to Paris yesterday and supped at the Princesse de Lamballe's. Her Majesty returns this morning to Versailles.

The Despatches herewith inclosed from Sir Robert Ainslie, came to hand last Saturday.

The Prince of Nassau arrived in this Capital a few days ago from

St. Petersburg, and will set out for Madrid next week : it is supposed that he is charged with some special commission from the Empress of Russia to the Spanish Court.

Prince Henry of Prussia will set out on his return home the 16th of this month.

12. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
12 March 1789.

...All the Letters of Convocation for the States-General are issued excepting those destined for Britanny and the generality of Paris : the latter will suffer no delay, but those for the former will yet take some days to disgest.

I send your Lordship the Instructions which His Serene Highness the Duc d'Orleans has transmitted to His Representatives at the several Bailiwicks where His Highness presides, in which not only His patriotic principles are displayed, but the strongest proof is given of His disinterestedness by His proposing to resign the Office of Ranger (Capitainerie) of different Districts, which to His Serene Highness is an object of at least £30,000 Stg. per annum.

A number of persons leave Paris every day to go to their several Estates in order to assist at the Elections : the most satisfactory accounts have been received from many of the Bailliages, mentioning that the utmost harmony subsists there amongst the three Orders.

According to the accounts from Rennes the fermentation during the last week had much subsided, which had rendered the reinforcement of troops, intended to be sent into that Province, unnecessary for the present. The Comte de Thiard will return to his Station in a few days, and flatters himself that the late outrages will soon be forgotten, but the causes of the differences still subsisting and the same animosity still continuing in full force, there is little reason to doubt that on the first occasion the effects of resentment will be displayed in every manner they can possibly be shewn, and indeed those who pretend to be better acquainted with the disposition of the people of

Britanny, are of opinion that nothing will effectually restore tranquility but the consent on the part of the Nobility to allow to the Tiers-Etat a greater preponderance in the States of that Province.

Hitherto the Court has certainly shewn a disposition to favor the requisitions of the people, it therefore remains only to know how far the Nobility will be disposed to give way to the joint wishes of the Government and the Tiers-Etat. The Deputies from both Orders are still in this Capital waiting His Majesty's answer to their respective remonstrances.

The Dutch Ambassador having communicated to me the reply of Their High Mightinesses to the answer received from His Most Christian Majesty's servants, I have the honor to send your Lordship a copy of it: to this reply His Excellency has not yet obtained any answer.

M. de St. Priest, late Ambassador at the Hague, takes a very active part in the Cabinet, and seems to gain ground in the public opinion: his principles have not yet been marked by any public transaction, but he has always professed a disapprobation of every measure that was pursued by the late Comte de Vergennes whom he conceived to be disposed to temporize.

Some changes are decided on in the Diplomatic Line: The Comte de Chalons, Ambassador from France to Venice, removes to Lisbon with the same rank in the room of the Marquis de Bombelles, who succeeds him at Venice: this exchange is said to be made in consequence of the unpleasant circumstances which the Comte de Chalons experienced on account of the contraband trade which had been carried on by some Persons in his suite: The Marquis de Bombelles has also expressed a wish to change his station as the climate of Lisbon very much disagreed with him.

The Duc de la Vauguyon, Ambassador at the Court of Madrid is expected home very shortly. Although he is coming home on leave of absence only many people think that he will not return to Spain. It is also said that the Comte d'Osmont who has hitherto had the direction of the pensions paid to the Dutch Refugees will

be named Minister to the Hague, but this nomination which might possibly give umbrage to the States-General is not finally concluded on.

Extract sent to Mr. Pitt and the Board of Contract.

I have been informed from undoubted authority that the French Garrison at Pondicherry is ordered from that Factory to the Isle of France, and that in future no military Force is to be kept up in that Fort except what be necessary for the preservation of good-order and for the support of the Police of the place.

The Comte de Conway has in consequence received orders to repair with his Garrison to the Isle of France which will hereafter be considered as the chief residence of the French Government in India : by this plan a great annual expence will be spared to the State, and if it had been adopted at the conclusion of the last War, there would have been a saving of at least a Million of livres tournois, which have been expended on the Fortifications of Pondicherry.

I can now with confidence assure your Lordship that no Force of any consequence has sailed from this Country for India within these last six months : it has been reported indeed that one if not two Ships of the Line and a Frigate had sailed for that part of the World the latter end of last year from Toulon, but I have very good reason for assuring your Lordship that such reports are totally void of foundation : it is very well known that this Government loses no opportunity of throwing supplies of all sorts of Naval Stores into the Isle of France, where there is always sufficient for refitting Ships of the largest size and His Most Christian Majesty's store houses in that Quarter, independent of the supplies with which they are furnished from the Mother-Country, receive great quantities of those Articles from the Americans whose commerce with that Settlement increases greatly every year.

The Minister from Geneva has transmitted a circumstantial account, which I send inclosed, of the late transactions in that Republic, by which your Lordship will see that tranquility is perfectly restored in that Capital and that a new form of Government has been established to the satisfaction of all Parties, but

which waits the sanction of the States who are Guarantees for the observance of the Regulations of 1782.

Various conjectures are formed on occasion of the sudden journey of the Prince of Nassau from Petersburg to Madrid : it is not improbable that Her Imperial Majesty may have charged him to sound the Court of Spain in regard to the destination of Her Fleet for the Mediterranean.

The Prince of Nassau, who set out from hence last week for Madrid, is to be back at Petersburg by the end of April, and it is said he will have the command of the Russian Fleet in the Baltic. From the frequent journies of this active Officer on the continent he has acquired the appellation of *Le Courier de l'Europe.*

The Council of War continues to be held at Versailles, and the closest application to business is observed; it is at present occupied in settling the expenses of the Army: the sum allotted for the Peace establishment is 96 millions with which 164 thousand effective Men are to be constantly kept up : it is said that the expences of the last year amounted 113 millions.

The Dauphin still continues in a very dangerous and precarious state of health : His Royal Highness was exceedingly ill on Sunday last and has been since that attack much weaker than ever...

13. Dorset to Carmarthen.
19 March 1789.

I had the honor of receiving your Lordship's Despatch No. 7, by the Post, with the Speech that had been delivered by the Lord Chancellor, in virtue of His Majesty's Commission, to both Houses of Parliament, and I have since received from Your Lordship's Office Copies of the Addresses of the two Houses to His Majesty in consequence thereof, with His Majesty's most gracious answer.

The Letters of Convocation for the States-General are not yet issued for Britanny.

His Majesty received the Deputation from the Tiers-Etat of that Province last Saturday in His Cabinet at Versailles ; a mark of

distinction which has given much umbrage to the Breton Nobility:— that such peculiar attention was shewn upon this occasion with any such view I cannot say positively, but it is well known that the Court has in various instances appeared indifferent as to the effect that any preference in favor of the Tiers-Etat might have upon the Nobility, who have, by their pretensions in that Province, rendered themselves very troublesome and occasioned much embarrassment to Government. His Majesty's answer to the Deputies was very gracious, and they returned to Rennes perfectly satisfied with their reception.

The Comte de Thiard is set out for Rennes.

The Deputies from the Nobitity of Britanny have not yet been admitted to the King's presence, but are still at Paris waiting His Majesty's pleasure.

A Deputation from Bearne is arrived at the head of which is the Comte de Grammon, Brother to the Duc de Guiche ; the object of this Mission is to obtain His Majesty's leave for the States of that Province to elect their own Deputies and not to be obliged to follow the directions given by the Letters of Convocation, this request is said to be couched in terms most respectfull, and as no immediate inconvenience considering the great distance of Bearne from the Capital, appears likely to arise from the mode proposed, it is imagined that His Majesty will give his consent, unless it may be thought impolitic to allow of any deviation from the general rule: Should this Petition meet with a refusal it is very probable that the States of Bearne will altogether refuse to depute to the General Assembly of the Kingdom.

An apprehension of the like inconvenience has occasioned the difficulty which retards the Letters of Convocation for Britanny. Several of the Elections are already over. The Duc d'Orleans is chosen Representative of the Nobility for the District of Soissons (or Villars Coterets) and M. de Liman (His Highness's Chief Agent) Representative of the Tiers-Etat of the same District.

The Duc de Liancourt is returned Representative of the Nobility of Clermont in Beauvoisois, though the Prince de Condé was his

opponent. The Duc de Liancourt had a majority of more than three to one in his favor.

It was currently reported the day before yesterday that the Comte de Mirabeau was returned Representative of the Tiers-Etat of Aix but no authentic accounts of that Election had been received at Versailles on Tuesday last : it is however thought to be not very improbable.

Letters from Besançon mention that a Meeting at which 140 Gentlemen were present, it was agreed that, out of respect for the King's commands, they should go to their respective Bailliages and attend the Elections there ; but this form of convocation being contrary to the Privileges of the Province, and especially to the Letters Patent of last November by which their States were established, they reserve to themselves the right of submitting the Privileges of the Province to the decision of the States General. The same accounts say that the Parliament is come to a similar Resolution and that it was expected the Clergy would follow their example, consequently the apprehensions that were entertained from the opposition of the two first Orders have now entirely subsided.

The Elections have in general been carried on more quietly than might have been expected though the demands of the Tiers-Etat are extraordinary beyond measure, not to say ridiculous: at Tours in particular the People went so far as to require an equal partition of property : the last Letters however from that Province mention that the fermentation was not likely to be carried any greater lengths.

It is now positively asserted that the States-General will take place at the time appointed : a great deal of intrigue is employed in the different Bailliages to make the Elections as favorable as possible to the wishes of Government and no pains have been spared to endeavor to secure a Majority in its favor.

Prince Henry of Prussia is at present on a visit to the Duc and Duchesse d'Orleans at Rainey, and proposes setting out on his return home on Saturday or Sunday next. I have not any reason to suppose that His Highness's residence at Paris has been

attended with any advantage to the system he has so much at heart of establishing a friendly understanding between this Court and that of Berlin to the prejudice of the Alliance lately entered into by Great Britain and Prussia, which is certainly an object of His Highness's disapprobation and even displeasure.

The late measures of His Swedish Majesty have created no small degree of anxiety here and seem to have placed that Country out of the reach of any further good offices on the part of this Court. An Officer of distinction passed through this City last week charged with a particular and secret Commission from the King of Sweden to the Porte : the object of this Mission is conjectured to be to engage the Divan not to listen to any overtures for Peace from the Imperial Courts unless Sweden be included therein.

No further steps have been taken by Government to discover the author of the *Histoire secrette de la Cour de Berlin.* The supposed author (M. de Mirabeau) has been at Paris since the impeachment of that work before the Parliament, and requested an audience of the Comte de Montmorin which was refused : The Prussian Envoy's Representations upon the Subject of this Publication remain unnoticed and of course he has as yet obtained no satisfaction.

M. de Virieux, Lieutenant General, is appointed Inspector of His Most Christian Majesty's Forces in Corsica, and that Officer took leave of His Majesty last Sunday in order to repair immediately to that Island where he will remain 'till the Month of May.

The high price of Corn has occasioned many insurrections in some of the Provincial Towns, and particularly at Rheims and Vendôme : at St. Quentin a barge laden with 2000 sacks of the above-mentioned commodity belonging to a very rich Individual of that place, who was accused in the neighbouring Villages of having made his fortune by entirely engrossing that Article, was seized upon by the populace, and the whole of the cargo was thrown into the River.

I send your Lordship M. Panchaud's Address to the Tiers-Etat at Blois : this Gentleman was born in England, is not naturalized a Frenchman, and is a Protestant.

P.S. I have just heard that the Duc de Bourbon has been chosen Representative of the Nobility for Provence, and the Vicomte de Noailles, Son of the Maréchal de Mouchy, Representative of the Nobility of Nemours...

14. DORSET TO CARMARTHEN.
26 March 1789.

I have the honor to send your Lordship herewith the several Letters of Convocation which have been issued since last week, amongst which is that for the Province of Britanny. The Comte de Thiard's departure for Rennes is deferred to the beginning of next month: the late accounts from that Province are so far favorable that no disturbance nor any act of violence has happened since the separation of the States, though the fermentation is by no means subsided : it is not easy to foretell what effect the *Réglement* for the Convocation will have upon the minds of the people, amongst whom there still remains a spirit of resentment against the dignified Clergy and the Nobility on account of their leaguing together, as the people conceive, against their interests. The Bailliage holding at Caen is attended with no small degree of fermentation, the consequence of the extreme distress to which the lower sort of the Clergy have been exposed : the Bishop of Bayeux, who presides [over] the Clergy for that District has been loaded with abuse by them and they have, since the Meeting, chosen a Monk for their President, at the same time obliging the Bishop to resign the Chair : they have likewise resolved upon chusing one of their own Body for their Representative at the States-General : a similar spirit of opposition to the dignified Clergy prevails throughout the Kingdom.

The Nobility of Lower Normandy have testified their disapprobation of electing any one holding an Office or who is otherwise connected at Court, and have even gone so far as to declare that no one having a Commission in the Army shall be considered as eligible : on this account the Duc de Coigny, who presides [over] the Assembly of the Nobility will, it is imagined, be disappointed in his expectation of being returned their Representative at the

States-General. The Tiers-Etat at Caen have been tolerably quiet, and it is supposed that the Elections in that District will be finished the latter end of this or the beginning of next week.

Several returns have been made within these few days but I cannot attempt to send your Lordship a correct list of the persons returned, as scarcely any of them have been printed.

The Baron de Montboissier is returned by the Nobility for Chartres, and the Bishop of that place for the Clergy.

M. de Freteau who was exiled during the Administration of the Archbishop of Sens has been chosen at Melun in opposition to the Duc de Chatelet, who lost his election by one vote only, the numbers having been 29 against 28. A Curé of that District is returned for the Clergy and the Abbé de Calonne, brother to M. de Calonne is chosen as supplemental in case of the illness or other inability on the part of the Curé, who it is said, is of a great age and very infirm.

The Prince of Condé has been elected Representative of the Nobility for a District of Burgundy but His Serene Highness declines this mark of distinction as does also His Son, the Duc de Bourbon. The Duc d'Orleans is as yet the only Prince of the Blood as yet deputed to the States General. M. de la Borde the younger is returned by the Tiers-États for Étampes after much difficulty on account of his holding a lucrative place in the Finance as Keeper of the Royal Treasury. M. de Guibert who was appointed Secretary to the Council of War in the late Administration, which Office he has continued to hold ever since, met with an ungracious reception at the Assembly of the Nobility at Bourges, owing, as it is supposed, to the general disapprobation entertained by that Order of the New Military Ordinances, and that Gentleman's over zeal, expressed by his eagerness to deliver a speech he had prepared for the occasion, determined the Members of the Assembly to object to his remaining in the Room and in the end obliged him to retire: M. de Guibert after remaining two days in that Provincial Capital, without receiving any invitation to attend the deliberations, returned to Paris.

If M. de Guibert, who has but a small landed property in that

Province, had conducted himself with a becoming moderation, it is probable that no notice would have been taken of him, but his forwardness to take an active part in the business disgusted those, to whom he was already in some degree obnoxious, and furnished a pretext for excluding him altogether from the seat to which he certainly has a right in that Assembly.

The Bishop of Sisteron, Brother to the late Bailli de Suffrein, at his Visitation in his Diocese has been roughly treated by the populace : the circumstances of this affair have been exaggerated to little less than a revolt, but the real fact was, I am assured, as follows :—An occasional dearness of corn had excited the murmurs of the people in a small town of Provence : the Bishop happening to pass by at the time, his Carriage was surrounded by a number of Peasants who represented to him that the grain of the Country had been forestalled very much to their prejudice, and begged that he would employ his influence to procure them Corn at the Market price : the Bishop, in order to get rid of their importunities, paid a visit to a Convent in the Town and took the opportunity to send to the Officer, commanding the Maréchaussée there, mentioning his situation and requiring his assistance, which was immediately afforded : with this protection the Prelate ventured forth and passed through the Town unmolested, but the Servants having been sent to wait with the Carriage in readiness at a small distance on the road, that circumstance occasioned a number of persons to assemble at the place : here at the approach of the Bishop some of the young men became rather disorderly and began throwing snow-balls at each other, which soon produced a general commotion, this, under the show of amusement at first, grew to be serious, for Stones succeeded to snow-balls, and the Bishop received a blow from one of the former just as he was stepping into his carriage ; fortunately the mischief was not material, and as the Maréchaussée prudently did not attempt to seize the perpetrator of this outrage the disturbance subsided entirely soon after the Bishop was gone, nor, can I venture to assure your Lordship, had this affair, as some would have it believed, any relation whatever to the business of the Election of Deputies to the States-General.

This great National Assembly, it is now said, cannot possibly be convened before the Middle of May, and even then much difficulty and altercation is to be apprehended, for the grand point, whether the Votes are to be given individually or by Order, is not yet decided, nor is it conceivable that it can be settled amicably. Government has hitherto shown itself favourably disposed in every respect to the claims of the people.

I send your Lordship two extracts of the proceedings at Bourges and Chartres, in the former of which you will see the patriotic sentiments of the Comte d'Artois, whose example seems to have animated the three orders of the State: hitherto indeed the Meetings in general have testified much zeal for the good of the Country but a great deal must be done before any solid advantage can be derived.

The Letter of Convocation for Paris will shortly be issued, the form of it having been agreed to by the King in Council last Tuesday.

The Deputation from the Nobility of Bearne has received no answer as yet.

A few days ago an order was sent to Marseilles to suppress the Packet-Boats which sailed from that Port to Smyrna, so that all Letters for the Levant will for the future be forwarded by Merchant Vessels, which is a very uncertain conveyance: as the establishment of Packet-Boats was so necessary for the speedy conveyance of intelligence and particularly for the communication with the East Indies, nothing but that rigorous attention to economy which pervades all M. Necker's undertakings can have induced Government to suppress them: to such a degree does that Minister carry his saving system that I have good reason to believe that on this account there will be no Squadron of evolution this year, and that it is not the intention of this Court to assemble any large Body of Troops during the summer.

The Comte de Puysegur, Minister of the War Department is much indisposed with a flying gout: his situation last Tuesday caused great uneasiness, but I have since heard that he is much better.

M. de Montmorin has not received any fresh accounts from Constantinople. His last letters from M. de Choiseuil were dated the 8th of January ; his private accounts are of the 22nd of that month at which period the loss of Oczakow was not publicly known in that Capital, and your Lordship will have observed that Sir Robert Ainslie's Despatch, dated so late as the 1st February does not make any mention of that important event.

Prince Henry of Prussia left Raincy last Saturday to proceed to Rheinsberg.

M. de la Vauguyon is daily expected from Madrid.

The Vicomte de la Rochefaucauld, Maréchal des Camps and Knight of the Holy Ghost died here a few days ago.

15. Dorset to the Duke of Leeds.
2 April 1789.

As far as any judgement can be formed from present appearances and from what has passed in those Provinces where the Elections are terminated there is every reason to expect that the operations of the States-General will turn out favourably for the Country, notwithstanding the opposition and fermentation which still continue in some parts of the Kingdom.

It is supposed that the immediate objects of the general plan to be proposed will be, that the Country shall engage for the whole of the National Debt :—that a universal Land Tax shall be established on the most equal principles and that the King, over and above his annual Revenue, shall be furnished with 80 millions in case of the breaking out of a war, that sum being thought sufficient for the first necessary preparations, and at the same time not enough to admit of His dispensing with the assistance of the States-General to which assembly it is intended that His Majesty should have recourse on occasion of such an exigency.

In Britanny every thing is apparently tranquil, but there still remains so much jealousy and suspicion amongst the Tiers-Etat, that the people keep themselves armed in readiness to support their rights in case of any attempt to invade them : a circumstance which gives no small degree of uneasiness to the Court. The

Comte de Thiard will set out for Rennes in a few days with unlimited discretionary powers to act in any manner that emergencies may seem to him to require : there is a large Army in that Province consisting of at least thirty Regiments all under Marching Orders, a precaution which it may be supposed will ensure tranquility there.

I send your Grace a Précis, published by M. Guibert, of the proceedings of the Assembly of the Nobility at Bourges, which I am told is a very faithfull account of what passed in regard to himself upon that occasion : there has since appeared, which I also send, a Letter in answer to the Précis, addressed to that Gentleman.

The treatment of M. de Guibert at Bourges proves in some degree the extreme unpopularity of the late principal Minister by whom he was named Secretary to the Council of War, and with whom he was much connected.

Similar circumstances in proof of the national dislike, which rather increases than abates, of that Minister, on account of the arbitrary measures he adopted, have manifested themselves in many places.

No alteration of the day that was fixed for the Meeting of the States-General has as yet been announced by Government, but it is the general opinion that it cannot take place sooner than the middle of next Month.

The Letters of Convocation for Paris were issued yesterday. Your Grace will receive them herewith, and also those for Corsica, Versailles, etc.

A Deputation from St. Domingo is daily expected to arrive and though the question of right to representation at the great national Assembly, advanced by the Proprietors in that Island, has not yet been decided by His Majesty in Council : the Deputation is instructed to lay before His Majesty their claims which, it is thought probable, may meet with success at so important a juncture.

The Nobility at Caen has chosen the Duc de Coigny their Representative, notwithstanding the determined opposition of a party of Country Gentlemen against him ; since this Election all has been quiet in Lower-Normandy.

The King has given the following answer to the Deputies from the States of Bearn with which they are returned perfectly well satisfied to Pau.

" J'eprouve une grande satisfaction d'avoir prévenu vos vœux sur l'objet de votre députation. J'en goûterai encore une plus sensible lorsqu'au milieu de la France assemblée je verrai se réunir, pour la première fois, mes fidelles sujets de Bearn ".

" Retournez promptement auprès d'eux ; maintenez par votre zèle cette harmonie et cette union si nécessaires au bonheur de mes peuples qui fait l'Object de tous mes soins ".

It is thought that the Cardinal de Rohan will be elected by the Clergy of Alsace: His Eminence has been refused permission to return to Paris on his private affairs.

The last Letters from Marseilles seem to infer that the Comte de Mirabeau will undoubtedly be chosen Deputy of the Tiers-Etat for that Place. His Brother, the Chevalier de Mirabeau, is elected for Limoges: the Lists of such Elections as are finished are given in the Journals de Paris which I accordingly send to your Grace, as being the most correct hitherto published.

The dearness of corn has occasioned some disturbances in different parts of this Kingdom, and the populace in some places have seized upon the flour in the Market-Places and have distributed it at their own price: it is said that one or two persons have lost their lives in an affray at Rheims. In the neighbourhood of Senlis and Pontoise the people have shewn a disposition to be very riotous, and several barges laden with corn have been seized on the River Oise, which were destined for the Capital.

The Magistrates have applied for assistance and in all probability the Maréchaussée Guard will be doubled in that quarter to prevent the Assembling together of persons in large bodies.

At Marseilles, where there have also been disturbances on the same account, there was no other means of appeasing the tumults than by reducing the price of corn, which had been raised by the Magistrates some days before.

At Nancy about twenty of the principal insurgents were taken up and put into confinement.

The last Letters from Vienna give a very unfavorable account of the Emperor's health, and mention that His Imperial Majesty's Physicians had advised him not to expose Himself to the fatigues of another Campaign.

The Dauphin's health continues much the same as it has been for some time past.

His Royal Highness will remove to Meudon in a few days where He will remain during the summer.

The Comte de Puységur is much better. The Baron de Wurmser, Lieutenant General in the French Service, and one of the great military Order of merit, died last Tuesday in the 77th year of his age: by his death a Pension of 80,000 livres Tournois reverts to Government.

I send your Grace, herewith inclosed, the answer I have received from M. de Montmorin respecting the Papers required by the Insurers of the Ship the Queen of Portugal: I am sorry that it is not more favorable to the wishes of those who are concerned in that Insurance...

16. Dorset to the Duke of Leeds.
9 April, 1789.

A few days ago the King narrowly escaped an accident which might have proved fatal to Him: His Majesty was walking upon the leads of the Chateau which look upon a Marble Court, and was desirous of entering his Observatory, but not being able to pass the Stair-case on account of the Workmen who were repairing it, attempted to mount by means of a ladder which happened to have been placed there ; when His Majesty had however ascended five or six of the rounds, the ladder, not being made fast, began to slip sideways at its top towards the Marble Court, into which he would in all probability have fallen the depth of at least 40 feet, had not one of the Workmen, who observed the King's situation, with great presence of mind seized the King in his arms and by that means saved Him from the danger to which he was exposed: His Majesty has settled out of his privy-purse an annuity of 1200 livres upon the Workman.

The fermentation which has manifested itself lately in different parts of this Kingdom has been carried to a very serious and alarming length, particularly at Marseilles, where the most daring and it may be added cruel outrages have been committed. Amongst the various accounts that are given of this affair the following I have reason to think comes nearest to the truth. On the day appointed for the Meeting of the Nobility for the Election of Deputies to the States-General the populace assembled under pretence of the distress they were suffering on account of the dearness of bread, and surrounded the Assembly-House in a very tumultuous manner; their violence increasing and every effort to appease them proving ineffectual, the Meeting was broken up, and the Members retired to their several homes in the most private manner possible :—this served but to increase the tumult, for the populace then proceeded to pillage the houses of those of the Nobility who were most obnoxious to them ; amongst others that of the Bishop of Toulon was a marked object of their fury: the Bishop found means to escape in disguise out of the Town, and, as soon as his flight was discovered, the mob, after destroying all the furniture etc. threw his carriage and horses into the sea: a Gentleman of the place (some accounts say the Mayor, and that he drew upon himself the rage of the Populace by firing at and killing one of them upon the spot) fell a Victim and was butchered in a manner too shocking to be related with all the circumstances of savage cruelty that were exercised upon the body. The Comte de Caraman assembled the Troops, but they were soon overpowered by Numbers, for the populace were provided with Arms, and he, seeing no other chance of restraining the fury of the moment, had recourse to the Comte de Mirabeau for his influence with the people, and his interference succeeded so far as to obtain a temporary cessation of the outrages.

I send your Grace the Comte de Caraman's Letter on the occasion to M. de Mirabeau with that Gentleman's answer, to which is annexed a most extraordinary Letter entitled *Lettre d'un Citoyen de Marseilles à un de ses amis* etc., which is believed to have been fabricated by M. de Mirabeau with a view to secure to himself his

election for the Tiers-Etat to the States-General. The Letters from Marseilles also mention that several Gentlemen's Houses in that neighbourbood have been totally destroyed and that the utmost confusion prevailed throughout the whole Province: Another account which comes from creditable authority, says that a resolution had been entered into by a society of young men to establish a form of Government independent of the King, and that they were actually forming and arming a body of men to the number of 1200—with the determined view of carrying their designs into execution; if this intelligence should be confirmed very fatal consequences must be expected. In the commencement of the tumult excited the Comte de Caraman had the hilt of his sword broken by a stone; his youngest son received a slight contusion on his arm, and one of his Aid-de-Camps was dangerously wounded. The Bishop of Sisteron, whose ill-treatment I mentioned in my Despatch No. 16, (see No. 20) ; lay so dangerously ill of the hurt he received upon that occasion that it was thought he could not recover.

In Britanny nothing has as yet been done, the people not being at all disposed to proceed to the Election of their Deputies: their object seems to be to obtain redress from their own Nobility before they will comply with the King's directions respecting the form to be observed at their elections. The Comte de Thiard will set out this day or tomorrow for Rennes.

An entire suspension of the proceedings relative to the form of convocation for the Capital and its Environs has been occasioned by the difficulties which have arisen between the Prévôt de la Ville de Paris and the Prévôt des Marchands. The Parliament debated thereon yesterday and have condemned the method prescribed by His Majesty's Edict as unconstitutional. A Deputation is appointed to wait upon the King with this report to-day, praying His Majesty to alter the form of convocation; in the course of the Debate M. Necker's conduct was much commented on.

Accounts from France-Comté speak of a riot that had taken place at Besançon, in which the House of a Conseiller de Parlement was pillaged and burnt: the cause of this violence is not

mentioned; however no lives were lost although the Troops were under Arms for several hours.

M. de Calonne came over to offer himself as Representative for the Tiers Etat of a small Town, Bailleul, near Douay in Flanders, but it appears that he either presumed too much upon the impression which he conceived his late publication must have made on the minds of the people at large or that he had been ill-informed in that respect, for he was almost unanimously rejected, and found himself in so great danger of being insulted by the populace, that he judged it expedient to take immediate refuge in Austrian Flanders, from whence it is supposed he returned to England.

The Cardinal de Rohan had declined the choice which the Electors of Alsace were desirous of making of him to represent the Clergy of that Province.

The celebrated M. Bergasse is nominated for the Town of Lyons Deputy to the States-General in the room of M. de Basset, who has given in his resignation.

Great preparations are making in the Hall at Versailles for the reception of the States General.

Accounts from Vienna mention the Emperor as again much indisposed, but the late symptoms of his disorder are different from those which formerly appeared and which were supposed to indicate water in his Chest; at present it is the opinion that His Majesty's Lungs are affected. His departure for the Army is accordingly postponed, but had His health been better, the uncommon backwardness of the season would have alone been sufficient to retard all Military operations.

The Prince of Nassau is returned hither from Madrid and will proceed on his way to Petersburg next Wednesday.

The Bishop of Nevers, lately elected Representative of the Clergy of his Diocese, died a few days ago.....

17. DORSET TO THE DUKE OF LEEDS.
30 April 1789.

This City has for some days past been alarmed by a very serious tumult, which began about six o'Clock on Monday evening when

a number of workmen employed by a considerable manufacturer of painted paper assembled in a riotous manner for the purpose of burning in Effigy their Master, whose name is Réveillon, of whom they had demanded an increase of wages on account of the advanced price of bread, and who, as they had been designedly made to believe, had declared in a public Assembly that 15 Sols a-day were wages sufficient for workmen to subsist on: however the appearance of some French and Swiss Guards deterred the mob from committing any material outrage at that time, but on the following morning (Tuesday) the rioters assembled again in much greater force, a considerable number of them having furnished themselves with bludgeons, and thus paraded the Faubourg St. Antoine menacing everybody who should attempt to obstruct their proceedings; it happened that on that day there were Races in the Bois de Vincennes which drew together a large company of persons of rank and fashion, many of whom in their road thither through the Faubourg St. Antoine were prevented passing that way by the vast concourse of people who were collected and who insisted on their declaring themselves in favor of the Tiers-Etat: the Military was called out, and about 2 o'clock the Troops were under the necessity of firing upon the mob, by which some few of them were killed and several wounded: this however did not prevent the people from getting possession of the house of Mons. Henriot, a manufacturer of salt-petre, the friend and neighbour of M. Réveillon which they compleatly stripped of every article and having piled up all the effects in the Street set fire to and burned them before the door of the house; most of the persons employed on this business were either killed in the house by the soldiers or taken; the few who were fortunate to escape got away upon the tops of the buildings, which they unroofed, and severely wounded some of the Soldiers with the tiles etc, which they threw down upon them.

Reinforcements of troops were in the mean time continually arriving, both Cavalry and infantry, and there was occasional firing upon the mob from six o'clock in the evening 'till 10 o'Clock at night by which time the streets were entirely cleared and tranquil-

ity thereby obtained: some accounts say that from three to four hundred of the people were destroyed. Twelve of the rioters were taken into custody, two of whom were executed yesterday evening without any attempt being made to rescue them.

Several houses have been threatened with destruction and particularly that of M. du Châtelet, Colonel of the French Guards.

The Hotel Dieu is filled with the wounded, and many more it is imagined must have been conveyed away by their own party. The Boulevards, from the Chaussée d'Autin to the Porte St. Antoine was guarded by detachments of Cavalry posted at certain distances and the Arsenal was protected by a considerable body of Grenadiers from both Regiments, an apprehension having arisen that the mob intended to make themselves Masters of that place with a view to get possession of the Arms: four pieces of Cannon were placed opposite to the Opera-House in readiness to be removed to any Quarter of the Town where a disturbance might arise.

Such was the position yesterday and in all probability the same will be observed for some days to come. No other motive than the dearness of bread has been assigned by the unhappy wretches who were engaged in these excesses, most of whom were intoxicated to a very great degree; though some are disposed to suspect that the friends and supporters of the Parliament have secretly fermented the disturbance.

Reinforcements of Troops have arrived from the environs of this City, and orders have been sent for all the Regiments at a certain distance to approach near to the Capital. The scene of tumult has been confined to the Faubourg St. Antoine tho' some detached parties of vagabonds have paraded parts of the Faubourg St. Germains and laid several carriages under contributions, urging in their behalf the extreme dearness of bread, but it does not appear that they belonged to the principal Mob, nor did they commit any further excesses. Bread is getting dearer every day: a great quantity of flour was brought in from the Country yesterday, but that can be only as a temporary supply and unless Government finds some means of effectually preventing the scarcity that

is apprehended, the distress of the people must necessarily become insupportable.

The accounts from Marseilles are still very alarming, scarcely a day having passed without the loss of some lives: At Cette in Languedoc the populace have risen: at Orleans a great disturbance has taken place and several Magazines of corn have been seized by the mob; and in the attempts that were made to protect and rescue the property of individuals from plunder some lives have been lost: however when the last Letters came away tranquility was nearly restored.

At Caen also a disturbance has happened but without any consequent mischief: here too as well as in many of the Provinces the origin of the discontents is the great scarcity of corn.

The Meeting of the States-General is deferred to Tuesday next the 5th of May, when His Majesty will deliver a speech, signifying His Royal intentions and declaring the motives which have induced Him to assemble the Nation. Owing to many unforeseen delays it is doubtful whether the Elections for Paris can be completed against that time, but though that should not be the case, the opening of the States-General will not be put off on that account. The Elections in this City have not caused much external sensation but the Debates have, I hear, been warm, though upon the whole the three Orders are united upon the principal object, that of sacrificing their property and interests for the good and prosperity of the Nation.

The three Orders of the Prevôté and Vicomté of Paris continue to meet separately at the Archbishop's Palace and are occupied with the arrangement of their *Cahiers*, after which they will proceed to the Election of their Deputies; the three Orders of the City of Paris are employed in the same manner and unanimity begins to prevail.

The Meeting of the Nobility at St. Brieux in Britanny is broken up, it having been resolved by them not to depute to the States-General according to the form prescribed by the King; the consequence of which will be that neither the dignified Clergy nor the Nobility of that Province will be represented at the States-General

as they absolutely refuse to depute otherwise than as from the united Body of the States of Britanny and not by separate Bodies. The inferiour Clergy as well as the Tiers-Etat have deputed, and what is somewhat extraordinary there has not been the least disturbance in any part of the Province during the Elections. The Comte de Thiard who has resided lately at St. Brieux is expected daily to return to Paris.

The Duc d'Orleans has experienced repeated marks of popular favor lately and particularly on Tuesday last. As He was returning through the Faubourg St. Antoine the people frequently cried out "*Vive la maison d'Orleans.*" His Serene Highness the next day moved in the Assembly of the Nobility that it was the duty of every member of the Community to endeavor to discover the Authors and Abettors of the outrages that had been committed and He expressed His hope that every good citizen would exert his best endeavors to restore and preserve good order.

The Dauphin had a very alarming crisis a few days ago which has however terminated favorably, for since that attack the situation of His Royal Highness has appeared to be somewhat less desperate.

The last accounts from Vienna speak more favorably of the state of the Emperor's health, and tho' His Majesty was still thought to be in danger, hopes were entertained of His recovery; the Letters mention that His Imperial Majesty had dispatched Orders to stop the Grand Duke's arrival at Vienna, and that He had dictated several Letters upon business.

I find it has been strongly insinuated to the French Ministry that it is the intention of Great Britain in conjunction with Holland to send a powerfull Fleet into the Baltic this summer: and the possibility even of such a measure being in agitation creates no small degree of uneasiness in the French Cabinet. I think it right to mention this circumstance to Your Grace and to observe to you that as the Ministers of this Country will henceforward be considered as responsible to their Country for whatever measures are pursued the confidential Servants of the Crown may be induced to make some extraordinary Naval exertions which otherwise they might be inclined to avoid.

The Comte de Mirabeau is now at Paris, or in the neighbourhood, but does not appear in Public.....

18. DORSET TO THE DUKE OF LEEDS.
7th May 1789.

Nothing has happened to disturb the tranquility of this Capital since I had last the honor of writing to Your Grace ; reinforcements of Troops continue to arrive daily, and the utmost attention is given to check the slightest appearance of commotion among the people. The number of unhappy victims who were killed by the Military on the day of the principal tumult was somewhat exaggerated at first, yet, according to what has been ascertained, it is believed that not less than 200 persons lost their lives upon that occasion. Disturbances in the neighbouring Villages increase, and are likely to become still more alarming, for the scarcity of corn is general throughout the Kingdom. Government formed large Magazines of corn in this City the beginning of last Winter, but the Stock has proved insufficient to answer the demands. Several Regiments are ordered to Provence to march into their Quarters with their Cannon, and the Governor, Intendant, and Magistrates of that Province are directed to proceed against delinquents in the same manner as was observed here, viz, to execute upon the spot such as shall be found guilty.

In lower Normandy the discontents still prevail, and at Caen the people seized upon a large quantity of flour which they threw into the River or otherwise destroyed.

Private Letters from that Country mention the extreme distress that is felt there and that in some particular districts the people are actually starving.

The great scarcity of corn in particular parts is owing to the vast quantities that were bought up by Government last autumn to supply the Capital from an apprehension that the violent hail-storm in last July might occasion a deficiency of that article in the Paris Markets without such a precaution.

On Saturday last the Members of the States-General had the honor of being presented to His Majesty ; and on Monday Their

Majesties and all the Royal Family, excepting their Majesties' Children, attended by the Members went in procession to the Parish Church of Versailles, where a Sermon, suitable to the solemn occasion, was preached by the Bishop of Nancy : a great concourse of people attended and gave repeated marks of loyalty and affection to Their Majesties, who about 2 o'clock returned to the Palace. The Sermon delivered by the Bishop was generally much approved, and a particular passage in it addressed to the Members was received with clapping of hands which, as may well be imagined from the novelty of the circumstance. interrupted for some time the devotion of the congregation.

On the following day (Tuesday) His Majesty opened the Assembly of the States-General about 12 o'clock at noon, by a speech from the Throne, which was received with repeated marks of applause evidently manifesting the feelings of that august Assembly in such a manner as could not but be highly flattering and satisfactory to His Majesty.

His Majesty delivered His Speech with great dignity though He was interrupted in the course of it by the repeated acclamation of *Vive le Roi* accompanied by clapping of hands. Her Majesty was seated near to the King on His left-hand: Monsieur and the Comte d'Artois at a small distance on the right : Madame, Madame Elizabeth, (His Majesty's Sister) together with Mesdames Victoire and Adelaide (His Majesty's Aunts) on the left-hand behind the Queen. The Comtesse d'Artois was prevented by a slight indisposition, nor were any of Their Majesties' Children present.

The other Princes of the Blood with some Dukes and peers were also on the right : the Maréchal of France with others of the same rank were on the left : the Garde des Sceaux on the left, and the other great Officers of state on the right of the Throne. The Duc d'Orleans who is the only Prince of the Blood chosen Deputy to the States-General took his seat as such among the Nobility.

The Ministers were seated close under the platform on which the Throne was placed. As soon as His Majesty had finished His Speech, the Garde des Sceaux delivered a set speech which he read in so low a tone of voice that it was impossible to collect a

single sentence of it. M. Necker afterwards addressed His Majesty and the Assembly in a written speech, the whole of which lasted three hours, but M. Necker, after reading a part of it, found himself obliged, on account of hoarseness, the effect of a cold, to crave His Majesty's indulgence in permitting one of the Clerks to read the remainder.

I will not attempt to enter into a full detail of the variety of matter contained in this laborious discourse which was received with bursts of applause. I had flattered myself that the speeches would be published in time for me to send them to Your Grace this day, but I hear that it will be yet some days before they will appear.

M. Necker declared the present annual Deficit to be no more than 56 Millions, and pointed out means of supplying it without any extraordinary burthens upon the people: he gave the States-General to understand that His Majesty had been graciously pleased to call them together more from a desire of fulfilling the promise He had made and of meeting the wishes of His people than from any exigencies of the State, and, if I did not misunderstand the expression, implied that, in case the present assembly of the Nation should manifest a disposition to act in opposition to His Majesty's principles, the King might be induced to dissolve the States-General and have recourse to those methods for supplying the Deficit which the Director General of the Finances engages to provide.

The Establishment of an East India Company, and of a National Bank, consolidating the national debt, and in short whatever may contribute towards securing a national credit, were the principal subjects of the Minister's speech, for which he claimed the sanction of the States-General. He also slightly touched upon the Slave-Trade, observing that an enlightened and distinguished Nation had already set the example of bringing the abuses of that commerce to a thorough investigation.

No mention was made of His Majesty's prerogatives, so as to raise an expectation that any of them would be abandoned. His Majesty only pledged himself to assemble the Nation periodically.

M. Necker's speech being finished about 4 o'clock, His Majesty rose from His seat and adjourned the meeting to the following day (yesterday); Their Majesties on Their way back from the Assembly-House received separately very flattering marks of the respect of the public.

The Elections for Paris will not be finished before next week. M. d'Espremesnil is chosen representative of the Nobility: a circumstance a little remarkable is that on the same day twelvemonth he was banished and sent to a State-prison by order of the King.

The States-General are at present and will be for some time to come occupied in verifying the qualifications of the several Deputies, after which it is imagined they will be divided into Committees; hitherto the grand question of *voting par ordre ou par tête* remains undecided. M. Necker in his speech seemed rather inclined towards the former, but referred the discussion of that point to some other opportunity. M. de Mirabeau was present and upon taking his seat was received with hissings and other marks of disapprobation.

The Duc d'Orleans was received with great applause as was also the Bishop of Nancy as a further testimony of approbation of his sermon.

Monsieur has retrenched five hundred thousand livres and the Comte d'Artois four hundred thousand on their respective establishments in order to cover the Deficit: these sacrifices, being communicated were received with great applause.

The King having given orders that a part of the Game in the Plains of St. Denis should be destroyed, in consideration of the vast consumption of grain occasioned by the increased quantity of hares and partridges, to the detriment of the crops, fifty gamekeepers with assistants assembled for that purpose on Saturday last and killed a considerable number of both kinds.

In the Capitainerie of Brunoy, Monsieur has only 3000 acres in order to form a forest for His hunting amusements: this spot is to be surrounded by a wall, which is already begun, for the purpose of confining the game.

The Opening of the States-General last Tuesday having prevent-

ed His Majesty from receiving the Foreign Ministers as usual on that day I shall not have had an opportunity of presenting Lord Robert Fitzgerald to Their Majesties and the Royal Family before Tuesday next.

19. DORSET TO THE DUKE OF LEEDS.
14th May 1789.

The attention of the public being wholly engrossed by the States-General, nothing that has not some relation to that Assembly is at present the subject of conversation : the affairs of the Nation are not at all advanced since last week owing to the differences subsisting between the Nobility and the Tiers-Etat ; the former having gone through the business of verifying their qualifications *par ordre*, while the latter refused to adopt that mode and protest against it, resolving that the whole Body of the States-General ought to verify their qualifications indiscriminately by choosing Commissioners from each order in common for that purpose. The Clergy have hitherto avoided taking any part in this delicate question, though there is reason to think that the majority of that Body are inclined to support the pretensions of the Tiers-Etat, for a fifth part of the ecclesiastical Deputies is composed of the lower class of Canons and Curates.

The Bishop of Langres has just published a Pamphlet in which he recommends that the dignified Clergy should incorporate with the Nobility and the inferior Clergy with the Tiers-Etat, forming as it were two Houses, in the same manner as the Upper and Lower Houses of the British Parliament, it is not however likely that Government will adopt a plan, by which the Commons would gain too great a preponderance by so considerable an addition in the number of ecclesiastical members, yet it is become very necessary to put an end to the disunion and jealousies at present subsisting by some method or other, since it is utterly impossible in the present situation of things for the States-General to proceed upon business. M. de Mirabeau who was considered by many people as the leader of the Tiers-Etat has lost much of his consequence, and though he has at times been heard with attention, he

has at others been obliged to desist from delivering his sentiments by the great outcry which his rising so often to speak has occasioned. It is not in my power to give your Grace a correct idea of the proceedings, as different Assemblies are held in Rooms, allotted for Committees, contiguous to the great Chamber of the States where the Debates pass.

The confusion and disorder that have prevailed are scarcely to be imagined ; one day in particular (I think it was on Monday last) in the Committee-Room of the Nobility nobody could obtain a hearing ; everyone who attempted to speak being received with hissing and groaning, so that it was found absolutely necessary to adjourn : since that day however the Meetings have been somewhat more peaceable, but the pretensions of the Tiers-Etat are very high, an instance of which manifested itself the other day when some of the members of that Body took offence at the Clergy and Nobility being styled the two first Orders, and pretended that they had no right to that distinction, observing that the only one which was due to them is the simple appellation of Clergy and Nobility, and that in no other light would they in future be acknowledged by the Tiers-Etat.

I have the honor to send your Grace the printed Speeches as they were delivered by the King, the Garde des Sceaux, and M. Necker at the opening of the States-General ; that of M. Necker it is thought upon closer inspection does not appear so calculated in favor of the Tiers-Etat as was at first conceived, and many of that Order are said to be very clamorous against the Minister upon the occasion. The mode of voting is another grand question as yet undecided.

M. Necker has not appeared to give any bias on this point, but unless His Majesty shall interpose and has influence enough to obtain a greater degree of harmony than at present prevails, the question is likely to remain without being brought to an issue, and the King may find Himself obliged to have recourse to those resources which the Director General of Finances has pointed out in his Discourse, as being in His Majesty's power without laying additional burthens on His People.

Such is the situation of this Country that much time will be necessary, even with the best turn that affairs may take, to relieve it from its embarrassments ; the Metropolis remains free from tumult, but the military force still continues and the Patroles of both Infantry and Cavalry are as numerous as they were during the time of the riots.

The Journal of the Etats-Généraux (of which I sent your Grace the second number last week) so much calculated to inflame the minds of the People, was suppressed on Friday last by an Order from Council. M. de Mirabeau is universally acknowledged to be the Author, and it is supposed that the Bookseller who published it has already received 12000 Subscriptions.

I send your Grace a resolution of the Tiers-Etat of this City in consequence of the above Edict, which shews a spirit to resist every measure that appears to have an arbitrary tendency.

The Elections of the Nobility for Paris and the Vicomté are finished and your Grace will receive a List of the Deputies chosen. The Duc d'Orleans is returned for this city but chooses to sit for Crepy where His Highness had already been chosen. A question arose about the legality of His Election at Crepy but it has been confirmed as legal and valid.

The Vicomte de Clermont Tonnerre is a young Nobleman who stands first on the list of those distinguished for the abilities, and has shewn great moderation and propriety of conduct since his nomination as President of the Nobility of this City ; great expectations are formed of him, and it is probable that he will make a great figure having a peculiar facility of disposition for public speaking.

The accounts from the Provinces are rather more favorable : the last Letters from Marseilles mention that tranquility was beginning to be restored and that a reinforcement of Troops was daily expected in that City, which it was expected would insure the public security.

Preparations are making at Marly for the reception of Their Majesties who propose going to reside there at the end of this month for a fortnight or 3 weeks. Their Majesties will pass the remainder of the summer at Trianon and Versailles.

I understand that there will not be any Review of the French and Swiss Regiments this year as usual on the Plains of Sablons.

The Abbé Roy, Censeur Royal, who was taken up on Sunday the 3rd Inst. upon suspicion of having encouraged the depredations committed in the house of M. Reveillon, by whom he was prosecuted for forging a Bill of Exchange, was consigned the ensuing day to the Jurisdiction of the Prévôte (which Court had been charged by an Order from Council with the enquiries respecting the insurrection in the Faubourg St. Antoine of the 27 and 28th of April) and has already undergone several examinations.

On Monday evening another person was taken up in the Rue Geoffrey Lasniers, who had been observed on one of the above mentioned days to take an active part in exciting the populace to continue their outrages, and having a Ribbon at his button-hole of the same colour and appearance as that of the Croix de St. Louis, he was mistaken for one of that order but on enquiring he was found to be Knight of St. Jean Latran. He was banished from Paris in the year 1776 at which time he went by the name of Chevalier de Hormeville, but he has since changed his name two or three times and is now known by that of the Chevalier Piozzi: it clearly appears from the best informations respecting him that he has no decided profession, nor any fortune whatsoever, and that he depends upon accident or play for his livelyhood.

It is confidently asserted that the Parliament of Britanny has issued an Order declaring that whatever the Deputies of the Inferior Clergy and Tiers-Etat may do in the States-General, relative to that province shall be void and illegal.

I send your Grace inclosed a Copy of the Declaration and Protestation de l'Ordre de l'Eglise Assemblé à St. Brieux.

Lord Robert Fitzgerald had his Audiences of Their Majesties and of the Royal Family last Tuesday as Minister Plenipotentiary from His Majesty: His Lordship was most graciously received.....

20. Dorset to the Duke of Leeds.
21st May 1789.

The original question, the subject of controversy between the

Clergy and Nobility on one part and the Tiers-Etat on the other, remains yet undecided, but your Grace will see by the inclosed Bulletins that there is some progress at length obtained towards a union of the Orders by the nomination of Commissaries from each Order as the only probable means of bringing about an accomodation. N° 1, (intitled *Bulletin des Etats Généraux*) promises to be the most faithful and therefore most interesting account of the future proceedings of that Assembly.

The Elections at Paris being finally closed the Deputies are removed to Versailles and the celebrated M. Target is already chosen one of the Commissaires for the Tiers-Etat *extra muros*, from whose abilities as a Man of business great expectations are formed : he is considered as an enemy to the pretensions of the two higher Orders, having manifested his sentiments during the meeting of the Tiers-Etat at Paris where he presided. Independant of the contents of the Bulletin above-mentioned I know that the greatest animosity prevails, both individually and collectively between the Nobility and the Tiers-Etat ; the dignified Clergy is rather inclined to support the former, but the numerous Body of Vicars and Curates who are much connected with the Tiers-Etat makes it difficult to foresee what line of conduct they may resolve upon : during this situation of things, Government is much embarrassed how to act. The Provincial Nobility in particular are very high-spirited and exceedingly jealous of certain privileges which they have hitherto enjoyed and which they consider as independant of the Crown, nor, it is supposed, would they hesitate to secede from the National Assembly rather than relinquish them : they are already much dissatisfied with the conduct of the Court Nobles, by whom they find themselves abandoned upon a division relative to the verifications of their qualifications, 46 or 47 having consented to the proposals made by the Tiers-Etat, 180 against them : the Deputies for Paris were not then chosen : the Majority consisted principally of those who have experienced the greatest favors from the King. The Stocks have fallen since the meeting of the States-General and public credit will sink entirely unless some measures be taken for proceeding on business in a regular manner.

The Comte de Montboissier *President, pro tempore, de la Chambre de la Noblesse*, was the person fixed upon to express to the Comte d'Artois the sincere regrets that (the) Assembly felt upon His Royal Highness's declining to accept the *Deputation* d'Albret.

After M. de Montboissier, attended by 50 or 60 Gentlemen, had acquitted himself of this commission, the Prince made him the following answer.

" J'essayerois en vain, Monsieur, de vous exprimer toute la reconnoissance que m'inspire la démarche honorable pour moi dont la Chambre de la Noblesse vous a chargé et le regret qu'elle veut bien éprouver : ils augmenteroient ceux que ressent mon cœur si cela étoit possible, mais M. Veuilly parlera encore en mon nom à la Chambre et lui donnera la firme et certaine assurance que le sang de mon ayeul * m'a été transmis dans toute sa pureté, et que, tant il m'en restera une goutte dans les veines, Je scaurai prouver à l'Univers entier que je suis digne d'être né Gentilhomme François."

The Abbé le Roy is released from the Prison of the Grand Châtelet and set at liberty ; the Provost's jurisdiction (by which he was tryed) not having been able to find sufficient proofs to convict him. M. Réveillon however has just published a *Mémoire* against him which gives the strongest presumptions that he has forged a Bill of Exchange payable to Bearer for 7000 livres tournois, and for this has instituted a criminal Process against him.

M. Réveillon has also published a *Mémoire* (which, with the other one, I send your Grace) for his own justification respecting the transactions of the Faubourg St. Antoine.

M. de Lamoignon, whose death I mentioned in the Letter I had the honor to send to Your Grace by the Post last Monday, lost his life by the accidental discharge of his fowling piece, as far as can be judged by the following circumstances.

M. de Lamoignon usually when at his Country-seat took the diversion of shooting, and on Saturday morning last went out with his Gun having appointed Madame de Lamoignon and the rest of his Family to meet him, at a Place called *le Pavillon du Caffé*, where they had agreed to breakfast : a report of a gun was heard

* Henri IV.

by a workman in the garden who immediately went to the spot and found M. de Lamoignon upon one of the benches in the Park, dead and covered with blood, his whole face from the chin to above the eyes having been torn by the shot.

He had with him a Pamphlet of the Bishop of Langres which that Prelate had given him the evening before and which, from the circumstance of its lying by him, it is supposed he was reading when by some accident, as is imagined, the gun was discharged, having been carelessly placed in such a direction as to produce the fatal consequence of his death.

The Swiss Regiment of Salis Samade, lately quartered at Arras, passed through Paris on Wednesday last in its way to Vaugirard, Issy, Meudon and Clamard, in which Cantonments it will remain 'till further orders. This Regiment is very justly esteemed the finest and best disciplined in the French Service.

During the sittings of the States-General there will be three theatrical Representations a week at the Palace of Versailles : the French Comedy on Tuesdays and Thursdays and the Italian one upon Fridays.

M. Marquet, Receiver General for the *Généralité de Bordeaux* absconded last week.

It is not yet known to what sum this Bankruptcy amounts tho' there is great reason to think it is very considerable. He left behind him but 2500 livres in ready money, and one Bill of the Caisse d'Escompte for 1000 livres.

This Person married the Sister of M. de Calonne's former wife.

Another Bankruptcy not less fraudulent, which has taken place, is that of a certain Dubois who, from being a servant in livery, was become one of the greatest Diamond Brokers in this Capital : just before his failure he took up upon credit all the Diamonds, and valuable trinkets he could procure and has disappeared with them: it is said the amount of his debts cannot be less than 1,200,000 livres.

By the last accounts we learn that the Emperor has had a slight attack of a fever which occasioned fresh uneasiness, considering the previous weak state of His health.

The Dauphin, who was thought to be on Saturday and Sunday

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last in the most imminent danger is much mended since that period.

I send your Grace a copy of a Letter I received this day from Sir Robert Ainslie giving an account of the death of the Grand Signior.

The last Letters from Marseilles mention that tranquility was re-established in that Town and neighbourhood.

The Comte de Thiard is daily expected from Britanny.

21. DORSET TO THE DUKE OF LEEDS.
28th May 1789.

It is scarcely possible to give your Grace an adequate idea of the confusion that prevails at present at Versailles owing to the discussions, hitherto fruitlessly, carried on by the several Orders with little if any progress, as your Grace will see by the printed accounts (which are authentic) towards an agreement upon a regular form of proceeding.

The Tiers-Etat seem to conduct themselves with a determined firmness, and not at all disposed to give way to the Nobility on any point, while on the other hand the Nobility cannot brook the idea of being dictated to by those whom they have ever been used to consider so much their inferiors in point of birth and consideration : the Clergy have evidently shewn a desire to conciliate matters, the nature of their Order forming two interests which on this occasion are incompatible, but the extreme inveteracy of the other two Orders against each other has not admitted of any good effect from their efforts.

In the mean time the public is dissatisfied and becoming very impatient of delay occasioned by the disunion of the Orders at a time the Nation had flattered itself that some salutary measures would have been adopted for its relief : under these circumstances too the Government is placed in a very awkward predicament, for, which appears somewhat extraordinary, none of the Ministers has a seat in the great National Assembly, not one of the Cabinet having been deputed to the States-General, so that whenever the present disputes shall be adjusted in such a manner as to establish a quiet and regular mode of proceeding on business, there will not

be a Minister to join in discussing the several Propositions as they are brought forward : it may indeed be urged that the presence of the Officers at the head of the different Departments will be necessary rather to satisfy the States-General in regard to what is past than to assist in providing for the future, and that their attendance in the Assembly will be required for that purpose as shall be occasionally found requisite.

There is every reason to believe that M. Necker is extremely embarrassed at this moment, for as his popularity has hitherto been his chief support, the decline of that Minister's credit, which is already wavering, will unavoidably be attended with a National bankruptcy : and perhaps Government, if it foresees the impossibility of going on, would prefer stopping payment at a moment when the calamity may be attributed to the want of unanimity in the States to whom the Nation is referred for a remedy in its distress.

Stocks have continued to fall since the opening of the Assembly, and the Shares of the Caisse d'Escomte are daily losing in no small proportion.

The following is a pretty exact account, as I have reason to believe, of what passed yesterday at Versailles. The Tiers-Etat, much incensed at the refusal of the Nobility to accede to the proposal that was made to them "*de traiter de la verification des pouvoirs en commun*", and (to use their own expression) the door to conciliation being thereby shut, seemed resolved yesterday to take determined steps and to come to some final decision : in consequence therefore of a motion made by M. de Mirabeau several members were deputed to the Clergy with the following Propositions :

"*Les Deputes des Communes invitent Mess. du Clergé au nom du Dieu de Paix et de l'Interêt national à se réunir à eux dans la Salle d'Assemblée générale pour opérer de concert à l'établissement de l'union et de la concorde.*"

Réponse du Clergé :

"*La motion étant infiniment essentielle merite une mure délibération.*"

The Clergy having discussed the matter a considerable time without coming to any determination, the Tiers-Etat grew impatient and dispatched a second message informing them that they had come to a resolution not to quit their House untill the Clergy had given them a final answer : this hasty and precipitate step so far from adding speed to the deliberations of the Clergy seemed only to embarrass and retard them ; for all further consideration on the subject ceased, and they deputed two Bishops and other inferior Members of their order to signify to the Tiers-Etat the resolution they had come to of postponing the further discussion of that important question 'till the next day. The opinion is that the question will be carried in favor of the Tiers-Etat as the inferior Clergy are mostly for a union of their order with that.

The last accounts from Provence mention that Marseilles is comparatively quiet to what it has been, though that Body of Men, consisting of about five thousand, which went under the title of *les Jeunes Gens*, still remain armed : they have put themselves under the command of a Person (whose name, I understand, is Lambertin) who was an old Officer, and who has sufficient influence over them to prevent their committing outrages ; they have even exerted themselves through his means to quell some other appearances of insurrection occasioned by the scarcity of corn.

The Bailli de la Brilliane lately arrived from Rome, where he had been several years in the character of Ambassador from Malta, being promoted by His Most Christian Majesty to be Ambassador to this Court from the same Place, had his audience on Tuesday last in that capacity. The forms attending his Presentation are the same as those for other Ambassadors excepting that he wears a peculiar dress with the Insignia of the order of Malta, and that he is attended by his Friends and other Knights of Malta during the Ceremony.

On Friday last, strong detachments of the French and Swiss Guards, the Regiment of Cavalry Royal Cravattes, and that of Royal Dragoons with the Swiss Regiment of Lalis Samade and Esterhazy's Hussards were posted in different districts of this

Capital, particularly near the *Place de la Porte St. Antoine*, to preserve Order and tranquility during the execution of a sentence of the Prevôté de Paris, which condemned an *Ecrivain* and a woman to be hanged at the above-mentioned Place, for the active part they took in the late seditions, as also five other Persons to the Galleys for life, for the disorders committed by them in the house of the Sieur Reveillon on the 28th of April. All these Criminals have had judgement executed upon them excepting the woman, for whom the Gibbet was actually prepared but who upon her declaring herself to be pregnant was respited.

On Saturday a *Déclaration du Roi*, registered in Parliament, was published, authorising the *Prevôts de la Maréchaussée*, to examine and give final judgment against all Persons accused of popular insurrections, unlawfull meetings, violences or vexations of any kind which may arise in the different Provinces. This concise mode of distributing punishment will no doubt effectually put a stop to those disorders which, under pretence of a scarcity of corn, have become so general over all parts of the Kingdom.

The friends of M. le Comte D'Ossun, Maréchal de Camp, had for some time remarked with much concern that his dealings in the Stocks, added to considerable losses at play, and a general train of expence, must terminate in his ruin : these apprehensions have been but too justly verified, since, in order to avoid the pursuits of his Creditors he has suddenly absconded. He is said to have informed his Wife, who is *Dame d'Atour* to the Queen, that neither she nor any other Person of his acquaintance would ever again hear of him.

It is supposed that his intention is to establish himself in North America on the Banks of the Ohio, where the United States grant as much Land as required at an easy rate : his debts are said to amount to one million of livres Tournois. The Comte d'Ossun is son of the late Marquis d'Ossun who was Ambassador at the Court of Madrid.

M. le Comte de Gand, Colonel of the *Regiment de Royale Infanterie*, whose affairs are also much deranged, has followed the same example of putting himself out of reach of his creditors, by a sudden retreat from this Capital.

Within these few days an Order from the King has appeared commanding all Colonels attached to Corps and Majors *en second* to join their respective Regiments on the 1st of June instead of the 15th. Those Officers who have been chosen substitutes for the States-General and had therefore imagined they would have been exempted from duty are equally included in this order.

The accounts of the Dauphin's health are so contradictory that it is difficult to know the real state he is in: I am however inclined to believe He is upon the whole better though not so considerably so as has been said.

The Emperor is said to have had a relapse, with a confirmed abscess on his Lungs, and that He is again supposed to be in very imminent danger.

P.S. The King loses 1,800,000 livres by the Bankruptcy of M. Marquet, whom I mentioned to your Grace in my Despatch of last week.

22. Dorset to the Duke of Leeds.
4th June, 1789.

The difficulties and confusion arising therefrom, which, as I mentioned to your Grace last week, prevailed at that time at Versailles amongst the different Orders have continued since with increasing animosity so that at present there is less probability than ever of any adjustment taking place. I have the honor to send your Grace the *Bulletins* of what has passed from the 27th of last month to the 2nd of the present : it is not yet known authentically what were the deliberations of yesterday but there is no reason to believe that any progress was made towards conciliating the different dispositions. I have been informed that the Nobility came to a resolution yesterday not to sign the Minute of the proceedings during the conference held by the Deputies of the three Orders in presence of His Most Christian Majesty's confidential Servants, alleging in vindication of their refusal that they could not subscribe their names to any act which admits the appellation of *Commons* to the Representatives of the Tiers-Etat: this Resolution will infallibly produce much discontent and probably heighten the resentment

which has already shewn itself between the second and third Orders of the State.

It is not easy to foresee how these difficulties will terminate, the Nobility having manifested their determination not to deliberate *par tête* even though the present point in dispute, viz:— that of verifying the returns, should be amicably adjusted, which is scarcely to be expected, nearly connected as it is with what will be the next question on which the Nobility have, as I before mentioned, declared their unalterable resolution: the Tiers-Etat on the other hand are equally determined to force the Nobility to accede to their terms, so that unless the King, supported by the Clergy, shall have influence sufficient to effect an accomodation between the contending parties, the dismission of the States-General appears to be inevitable.

The Minister is much blamed for having permitted the opening of the Assembly before the returns of the Deputies were verified, which, I am informed, might have been done either in the presence of His Majesty or of a Commission appointed by Him for that special purpose: thus indeed one difficulty might have been avoided, but the grand stumbling-block to subsequent proceedings would still have existed viz, the question of voting *par tête ou par Ordre.*

The Tiers-Etat meet regularly every day in the grand Assembly Hall and admit strangers to hear the Debates, from which much inconvenience has arisen and their deliberations much prolonged. I am told that the most extravagant and disrespectfull language against Government has been held, and that upon all such occasions the greatest approbation is expressed by the Audience by clapping of hands and other demonstrations of satisfaction; in short the encouragement is such as to have led some of the Speakers on to say things little short of treason.

The Nobility, as may be supposed, are roughly treated in these debates and their conduct does not escape being represented in the most odious light possible. The Clergy and the Nobility hold their meetings in separate Chambers and neither of them admit strangers to be present at their deliberations.

It has been suggested by some of the Members of the Tiers-Etat that if the majority of the Clergy consisting of Curates who are favorable to the principles of the Tiers-Etat, and the small number of the Nobility who profess themselves attached also to the same principles, would join the Deputies of the Tiers-Etat, in that case the business of the Nation might be proceeded on, since an Assembly of States-General would thus be formally and constitutionally formed, but it is not to be imagined that a high-spirited Nobility, jealous of its privileges, or that the dignified Clergy would quietly submit to a measure which, if permitted, would inevitably exclude them from any future share in the Government of the Kingdom: a system which, in the attempt to establish it, could not fail to produce a civil war.

It does not seem to be well ascertained what part M. Necker is now disposed to take: some time ago it was evidently his wish that the voting should be *par tête* on some particular questions as stated in his speech, but since he has discovered that the Nobility continue firm upon that important question and that they will by no means submit to a regulation which would leave them at the mercy of the Representatives of the people, he is, I suspect endeavoring to hit upon some medium that may satisfy both Orders: this is certainly an arduous if not a fruitless attempt: in the meantime this Minister is preparing to conduct the King's Affairs at all events, for, whatever shall be the result of the present disputes in the States-General, there is money in the Royal Treasury sufficient to answer the demands of the State for the next six months: how M. Necker has been able to obtain this supply is known to only a few individuals, but Your Grace may depend upon the fact, and, considering the enormous demands upon Government, it must be allowed that the Minister at the head of the Finances has in this instance no small degree of merit.

The Kingdom in general is resuming a state of tranquility, and the prospect of a plentifull harvest will probably prevent any disturbances on account of the scarcity of grain: yet a report prevailed yesterday that in the neighbourhood of the Baron de Breteuil's Country-House at Lagny the peasants had assembled

and destroyed great quantities of standing corn. There has also been a kind of revolt in the Environs of Fontainbleau, but it was soon checked by the arrival of a detachment of Dragoons.

The Country people threatened to destroy the Deer and Game in the Forest, and two of the Game-Keepers lost their lives before the Troops arrived : at present all is quiet in that quarter.

At Marseilles tranquility seems to be quite re-established for the present, as your Grace will judge by the inclosed copy of a Placard ; yet the people there are, I understand, still ripe for disobedience and revolt upon any slight pretext.

On Sunday last (being Whitsunday) the Duc de Berry (second son to the Comte d'Artois), and the Comte de Thiard, were received Knights of the Holy Ghost in the Royal Chapel at Versailles : His Majesty has not signified his intention with respect to His Nominations to the other vacancies of which there still remain fourteen.

The Abbé Roy who is supposed (as I have mentioned in a former Despach) to have committed a forgery to defraud Revéillon, has absconded : he had appealed to the Parliament to judge his cause and the result was an order to take him into custody.

The situation of the Dauphin is truly deplorable : His Royal Highness has been in the most imminent danger at several periods during the last fortnight and every day his dissolution has been expected : the affliction of Their Majesties is very great notwithstanding the long preparation they must have had for the melancholy event which They now consider as very near, for it is the opinion of the Physicians that His Royal Highness's present situation does not admit of a hope that He can hold out many days.

The mourning fixed upon is to last two months : the first fortnight—weepers.

The last accounts from Vienna mention the state of the Emperor's health to be so much improved as to admit of His going to the Château de Luxembourg, where His Imperial Majesty proposes to remain a considerable part of the summer.

Two Frigates are lately arrived at Brest from St. Domingo, after a passage of 36 days : several Deputies from the Colonies are come

over in them, directed by their Constituents to make every effort to be admitted as members of the Assembly of the States-General.

Their Majesties have postponed going to Marly 'till the 12th Inst.

I send Your Grace a Packet containing Despatches from Sir Robert Ainslie, which I did not receive in time to forward it by any earlier conveyance.

P.S.—6 o'clock. P.M.

I have this moment received information of the death of the Dauphin which happened between the hours of 12 and 1 this morning.

23. Dorset to the Duke of Leeds.
11th June, 1789.

The proceedings of the Assembly of the Representatives of the Tiers-Etat go on slowly but regularly, as your Grace will perceive by the printed accounts which I have the honour to send you. There is as little prospect as ever of harmony between that Body and the Nobility : indeed to such a pitch is the animosity arisen that there is scarcely any hope entertained of a reconciliation ; it is therefore the intention of the Tiers-Etat to verify their powers and thus in the course of a few days to constitute themselves, after which they will consider themselves as representatives of the Nation, and qualified to act as such independant of the other Orders, whatever measures these last may take to counteract their proceedings ; this determined and extraordinary resolution will, it may be presumed from the present complexion of affairs, be productive of infinite confusion and of insurmountable embarrassment to the Ministers, who nevertheless seem to be waiting for some decisive step of one or other of the contending Parties, by which the conduct of Government may be regulated : this supineness in the Cabinet may however prove fatal to their plans, if they have formed any, and may reduce the King to a necessity, which He must wish to avoid if possible, that of having recourse to very violent measures to maintain His authority against the efforts manifestly exerted by the Tiers-Etat, to lessen it as much as may be in their power to do. The Nobility have conducted themselves

towards His Majesty in a much more respectfull manner, in matters of form, than the Tiers-Etats, though both have shewn themselves over tenacious of their rights, considering the unreserved manner with which His Majesty has professed His readiness to make every reasonable sacrifice that may be necessary to the welfare and future prosperity of His Kingdom.

The Clergy seem to be pursuing the same line of conduct with which they set out and continue to temporize with a view perhaps of becoming sooner or later the arbitrators in the contest between the other two Orders.

I inclose for your Grace's perusal the address of the Tiers-Etat, which is the language of complaint of the other Orders, without binding themselves to any deviation from their former Resolutions, nor does the King in His answer seem to exact anything more than what they had conditionally promised.

It is worthy of remark that they style themselves *Les Communes*, an appellation which His Majesty does not acknowledge and designedly addresses their Deputation comme *Réprésentans du Tiers-Etat.*

It may easily be imagined that, in the present posture of affairs, so different from what was expected, and so unparallelled in former ages, many doubts must arise in the minds of almost all descriptions of Persons, as to the success of the Assembly of the States-General in its present mutilated form. One of the first Propositions to be brought forward is, I understand, a Loan of eighty-millions for the present urgent demands of Government : the terms on which this sum is to be borrowed have not yet transpired and will naturally require some deliberation.

The Tiers-Etat continue to admit strangers to hear their Debates and have moreover allotted places for their accomodation.

France never experienced a more critical moment than the present, and whatever may be the result of the troubles with which this Country is now agitated, it can scarcely be such as will enable Her to support the preponderance which she has so long held in the scale of Europe.

On Tuesday last, in the Assembly of the Nobility the Question

"for sending back the Deputation from Dauphiné by the Commissaries of the three Orders to have their Powers verified by them", was carried by a majority of 128 to 82; this gave rise to a very violent debate between the Comte de la Blache, one of the Deputies of the above-mentioned Province, and the Marquis d'Haracourt, his Brother, one of the principal persons who opposed that Deputation.

Nothing very interesting was transacted upon that occasion in either of the other two Assemblies; the Clergy only signified by a Deputation to the Tiers-Etat that they thought "it necessary to defer all consideration upon the distresses of the common people to some other occasion".

The fourth, and in all probability the last conference of the *Commissaires Conciliateurs* in presence of the *Grande des Sceaux* and of the Commissaries appointed by His Majesty was to have been held yesterday.

The Deputies from St. Domingo and the other French West-India Islands, whom I mentioned to your Grace in my Despatch of last week, are arrived at Versailles: this Deputation consists of six persons who have petitioned to take their seats as Members of the States-General, and it is thought that their prayer will be granted, tho' the King's Letter (which I send your Grace herewith inclosed) to the Governor and Intendant of St. Domingo only promises them the privilege of deputing, provided the States-General should approve the same and be after regularly held.

I inclose an *Edit du Roi,* which was issued last year but which it is found expedient to revive at present; it was cried about the Streets yesterday. I believe it is the only act of the late principal Minister for which the public feel any obligation to him: it is perhaps thought as well to recall at this time to the minds of the Nation the great sacrifices the King has made, though there is no doubt of his Majesty possessing the hearts of His people which is His firm and certain security.

Their Majesties have been sensibly affected at the death of the Dauphin: the marks of tenderness which His Royal Highness manifested in a very particular manner towards His August Parents

during his last hours could not but heighten those sentiments of affection which have ever characterised Their Majesties with regard to their Children and were so justly bestowed on the late Dauphin, whose existence for these last fifteen months has been a continued series of bodily sufferings.

Notwithstanding that His Body was opened and examined I do not find that the cause of his disorder is ascertained, nor that sufficient discoveries are made to appease the apprehensions for the other Royal Children in case either of them should have a similar attack: before His death He was, I am told, covered with pustules which is an unusual symptom, and since the corpse was embalmed it has shrunk to less than the size of a new-born infant.

He is to continue to lie in State at Mendon 'till Saturday night when He will be conveyed to St. Denis for interment.

The Foreign Ministers paid their compliments of condolence to Their Majesties on Tuesday last, when the Maltese Ambassador had his first audience of the Queen, The Dauphin, and Madame, His Sister, received also the Foreign Ministers on the same day.

Their Majesties do not put on mourning on occasion of the death of Their Son, since, according to the etiquette of this Country, Parents never wear mourning for their children.

Their Majesties will go to Marly next Sunday for 10 days or a fortnight.

It was apprehended that the shutting up of all Places of amusement on occasion of the death of the Dauphin might be attended with disagreeable consequences at this moment of public fermentation; nothing unpleasant has however happened, and all the Theatres will be permitted to open on Sunday next.

The perfect quiet in which this Capital remains may perhaps be owing to the number of Troops which are quartered in the suburbs and Environs of Paris: it is confidently asserted that at least 40,000 men could be assembled in the course of two or three days; the price of bread remains the same and the importation of corn continues to be prodigious, especially at all the Ports of Normandy.

M. de Montmorin has received accounts from Vienna of so late a date as the 30th of last month, mentioning the Emperor's health

to be as bad as possible: His Majesty had frequent fainting fits and constant night-sweats, and from every appearance it was thought He could not hold out for many days.

On Monday the Ist of this Month died at Strasbourg very much regretted the Maréchal de Stainville in the 61st year of his age: He was Brother to the late Duc de Choiseuil: by the death of this Nobleman His Majesty loses a most zealous and faithfull Servant: the Government a steady supporter; the Country an Officer of distinguished merit, and his Family a most affectionate Parent.

The last twelve months have been fatal to the Maréchals of France for no less than 7 of 17 have died in that space of time.

It is thought that His Majesty will immediately name two General Officers to that dignity, as twelve properly form that Tribunal though seven are sufficient to make a board. The Duc de Harcourt and the Comte d'Egmont are the two Noblemen most likely to be honored with that distinction.

By the death of the Maréchal de Stainville the command as well as the Government of Alsace become vacant: the Government of Epinal and the reversion of the Bailliwick d'Aguenau in Alsace, which was given in M. de Maurepas's time, in failure of male issue of the Maréchal de Stainville, go to the Prince de Montbarey formerly Secretary at War: This Bailliwick is of a most agreeable tenure, going by succession from Father to Son, and produces at least sixty thousand livres Tournois annually.

La Duchesse de Grammont, the Maréchal de Stainville's sister, has a rent charge of 20,000 livres Tournois during her life which is the only incumbrance upon the succession.

The Vessel *La Nécessaire*, armed *en flute*, arrived the 27th of last month at *Orient* from the Isle of France, brings the disagreeable intelligence that two of the King's Frigates, *La Résolution* of 44 Guns and *La Venus* of 40 which had sailed the beginning of last January from the Isle of France for the Isle of Bourbon, in order to take on board provisions for their passage to Europe, met with such a violent hurricane just after they had stood out to sea, that the Résolution Frigate was under a necessity of returning to the Isle of France entirely dis-masted, and in the most shattered

condition, and there is every reason to think that the *Venus* with her whole Crew perished, no accounts of her having been received at the time of the departure of *La Nécessaire.*

The Abbê Roy who was sentenced by the Parliament to be taken into custody has not yet been found, but last week his House-keeper was seized and conducted to the Prison of the Hôtel de la Force at the very time that she was privately conveying away the effects of her Master : finding herself in all probability likely to be involved in his guilt she took the desperate resolution of putting herself to death which she effected by cutting her throat in the place of her confinement.

Le Marquis de Vaubecourt was appointed about a fortnight ago *Lieutenant Général Divisionaire* to the Troops dispersed in the different Cantonments of the *Basse-Alsace* in the room of the late Marquis de Conflans. M. de Vaubecourt, prior to this nomination, had acted in the same capacity in the Province of Picardy.

24. Dorset to the Duke of Leeds.
18th June, 1789.

The Tiers-Etat finding that there remained no longer any hopes of conciliation between their Order and that of the Nobility resolved the latter end of last week upon proceeding in a regular way to verify the returns of its Deputies which was accordingly done and the whole completed on Monday last : in consequence of an invitation to the two first Orders on the part of the Tiers-Etat to assemble in common with them, a few of the lower Clergy appeared amongst them, but have since retired to their own Order. On Tuesday the Tiers-Etat passed a vote constituting themselves the Representatives of the Nation ; in the course of the debate upon this occasion very violent language was held against the Clergy and the Nobility, aud the Strangers who were present testified their approbation to such a degree, that those members who were known to be desirous of moderating the animosity that prevailed found it expedient to remove from their places to avoid the insults which seemed to threaten them. The Assembly on that day did not break up 'till past 12 o'clock at night.

They met again yesterday when the Resolutions *(Arrêté National)* herewith enclosed were passed by a very great majority, by which, as your Grace will perceive, that Body assume the title of l'*Assemblée Nationale.*

Previous to the above Resolution His Majesty, in a Letter to the Nobility written in his own hand, expresses his concern at the differences which still subsisted amongst the Order, and rather reproaches the Nobles for their too stubborn resistance to the proposals that have been made to them : this reproof on the part of the King, though conveyed in very gentle terms, has been sufficient to alarm the Nobles very much, and their apprehensions are still further increased by the late Resolution of the Tiers-Etat, for should His Majesty think proper to give it the sanction of His Royal authority all opposition from the other two Orders would be of no avail, and the business of the Nation would go on without the assistance of either of them.

His Majesty at the time when He wrote to the Nobility wrote also to the President of the Deputies of the Tiers-Etat, but that Body agreed not to open the Letter during their deliberations ; whether or not his Majesty's Letter has been taken into consideration this day I am not able to inform Your Grace : the reason for deferring to read the contents was an apprehension that some proposal might be made which would put a stop to their proceedings, which they were determined to finish before they were called upon to separate.

The Resolutions of yesterday, which I have the honor to send Your Grace, make no mention of others which have been passed, but care has been taken to make known, by Expresses sent for the purpose, to all parts of the Kingdom the particulars of the whole that has been doing, which will no doubt very much inflame the minds of the people.

The Assembly resolved that the Representatives of the Nation do take upon themselves the public debt, and accordingly voted a Loan of at least 80 millions to answer the present exigencies of the State, directing at the same time that any attempt to collect Taxes without their authority should be resisted ; they declared

also that in case the present Assembly should be dissolved, the people would be justified in refusing to pay any Taxes whatever till such time as that Assembly should be again convoked in a regular and constitutional manner. One of the Members expressed an earnest wish that something might be done immediately to relieve the necessities of the poor.

Such I understand, to be the substance of what passed yesterday (the 17th). Matters are every day growing exceedingly critical yet the King's Authority is still paramount, but if His Majesty once gives His decided approbation of the proceedings, such as they have hitherto been, of the Tiers-Etat, it will be little short of laying His Crown at their feet. The two first Orders, it may be expected, would in case of so marked a preference to their detriment secede: if however His Majesty on the other hand should espouse the cause of the Clergy and Nobility the people, tenacious of the footing to which they find themselves already advanced, and encouraged by the further advantages they have in view, would, if one may judge by the present temper of the times, be ready to support their cause by force, in which case the contest might at the outset be strongly disputed, but the Army whose zeal and activity are derived wholly from the Nobility, must soon throw the balance into the King's hands. The Army last year was certainly lukewarm in the King's interest, but the disposition of both Officers and Men is much changed, and they have upon all the late occasions shewn themselves to be entirely devoted to the Royal authority.

The Duc d'Orleans made a motion yesterday for the Nobility to accede to the proposal made to them by the Tiers-Etat so far as to join that Body in the great Assembly-Room and to deliberate with them in common, but to vote only, *par Ordre:* the Motion being in itself quite nugatory, as tending to no salutary end, was rejected by a majority of upwards of 50 votes.

The Clergy have not lately done anything of consequence, but they seem to be of a somewhat less inflexible disposition than the Nobility, and many of the inferior Clergy want very little encouragement to act in conjunction with the Tiers-Etat.

It was agitated in the Assembly of the Nobles whether a Depu-

tation should be sent to the King to entreat His Majesty to take the affairs of the Nation entirely into his own hands ; this, after a very long debate, was rejected by a very considerable majority : though it appeared that their concurrence was withheld only by the necessity, that it was conceived there would be, of calling forth the assistance of the Army in case their proposal should be accepted, which it was supposed must inevitably occasion an immediate civil war.

Amongst the various printed accounts of the proceedings at Versailles the *Journal des Provinces* appears to be the most accurate : the further publication of it has been prohibited but I am in hopes the Editor will not be prevented altogether from fullfilling his engagement to the subscribers.

M. de Mirabeau's Letters to his constituents are well worthy of your Grace's perusal; Your Grace will have received them compleat to the present time (eight in number) excepting the 7th Letter which was suppressed immediately on its appearance and I have not been able to procure one of the few that got into circulation.

The rest of the accounts you will, I fear, find a little mutilated, but they have not yet been given to the Public in a better form.

Your Grace will receive also *une Requête presentée aux Etats-Généraux du Royaume le 8 Juin 1789 pour les Députés de la Colonie de St. Dominigue* which is very well drawn up : this petition will be laid before the States-General whenever they shall be legally constituted.

The Dauphin's Funeral was conducted with as little pomp as the situation of so great a Person could admit of : None of the attendant coaches nor servants were in mourning, and but barely a sufficient number of torches to light the procession to St. Denis.

All the public Places of amusement opened last Sunday.

The residence of Their Majesties at Marly is upon principles of retirement and strict economy, one Lady only attending in waiting upon Her Majesty, and no table is kept at the King's expense for any but the Royal Family.

On Sunday last the Comte d'Artois reviewed in the *Champ de Mars* the Swiss Regiment of Salis at present quartered in this

Capital: His Royal Highness bestowed the greatest encomiums on this fine body of men.

I omitted to acquaint Your Grace in my Despatch of last week that M. d'Osmont, who was appointed to regulate the affairs of the Dutch Refugees, is named His Most Christian Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary to the Hague.

Several Letters from the Country mention the extreme scarcity of corn, particularly in parts of Picardy, where the poor people are suffering the utmost distress. The supplies of grain which were expected from America are not yet arrived, the orders not having been sent to that Country earlier than December last.

His Majesty has not yet disposed of the Government of Alsace.

I send Your Grace a Packet containing Despatches etc., from Sir Robert Ainslie.

P. S.—I have this moment obtained a copy of the King's Letter to the Tiers-Etat, which I send herewith inclosed.

25 DORSET TO THE DUKE OF LEEDS.
25th June, 1789.

I have the honor to send your Grace all the different printed accounts of the proceedings of the several Orders of the States-General, from the 17th of this month to the 23rd. Your Grace will see in them the progress the Tiers-Etat have made towards effecting a complete Revolution in this Empire: these accounts have erred in giving proceedings of the 18th no Assemblies having been held on that day, being the *Fête Dieu*: on the 19th the Tiers Etat continued their deliberations and the Clergy passed a vote, by a majority of only eight, that they should verify their own returns.

On Saturday His Majesty, finding that the Tiers-Etat persisted in their resolutions, sent an order to shut the doors of the House of Assembly, and an Officer's Guard was posted at the entrance with an express order to prevent all persons whomsoever from entering: the printed accounts state very accurately the measures which were in consequence taken by the Tiers-Etat, headed by their President, and the Resolutions which were passed unanimously by them on the same day in a Tennis Court at Versailles: what appears some-

what extraordinary is that the Deputies from St. Domingo, whose claim to be admitted to sit as members of the States-General has not yet been taken into consideration, as also the substitutes, were permitted to take the oaths.

On Sunday last only the Nobility assembled in their own Court: Monday had been fixed for a *Séance Royale*, which for particular reasons was put off 'till the next day: in the meantime, M. Necker, it having been apprehended that the people in this Capital might be alarmed at such an appearance of arbitrary exertion on the part of the King, wrote the following Letter to M. de Crosne, the Lieutenant General of the Police.

" du 20 Juin à 5 heures du soir "

" La Salle des Etats Généraux ayant été fermée par un absolu besoin les Députés de Tiers-Etat s'étant assemblés en un autre endroit le public pourroit croire que l'intention du Roi fût de dissoudre les Etat-Généraux.

" Il est essentiel, Monsieur, que vous fassiez assurer dans tout Paris que Sa Majesté s'occupe toujours de retablir l'union et la concorde pour le bonheur de sa peuple et que les séances reprendront Lundi prochain."

Everything has been perfectly quiet in this City, but the consternation which visibly prevails and the number of persons who assemble daily in the Coffee-Houses, and all places of public resort especially in the garden of the Palais Royal, where they discuss with a marked anxiety and interest the important business of the moment, far exceeds anything of the kind I have ever seen in this Country.

Their Majesties returned to Versailles from Marly on Sunday last, induced no doubt by the critical situation of affairs to fix themselves at the place of their usual residence, where they would be less exposed than at so retired a situation as Marly to any surprize or sudden insult from the populace in its present state of fermentation. The Peasants in the neighbourhood of the Court have committed great outrages in the King's Forests in defiance of the Game-Keepers who, for want of sufficient support from Government, do not dare to oppose them; some of the Keepers

have already fallen victims to these depredators, and one was shockingly butchered a few evenings since by three poachers not a league from Versailles. On Monday nothing material passed at Versailles: the Guards continued to occupy the avenues leading to the House of Assembly. .

On Tuesday morning (the 23rd Inst.) His Majesty attended by the Princes of the Blood (the Duc d'Orleans, who sat as Deputy, excepted) the Maréchals of France and the Peers of the Realm, opened the meeting with the speeches from the Throne, which, with His Majesty's declarations respecting His future intentions and a kind of recapitulation of the different Cahiers, Your Grace will receive herewith. The King was received by the populace, both going and on His return with great acclamations: when His Majesty entered the House of Assembly He was much applauded by all the three Orders, but on His retiring only the Clergy and Nobility testified marks of satisfaction and loyalty.

The Tiers-Etat proceeded to deliberate and continued their debates notwithstanding repeated messages from the King requiring them to break up the Assembly: they not only confirmed all their former resolutions but passed others of a very violent tendency.

M. Camus and M. de Mirabeau were the principal leaders in these proceedings: in the evening of Tuesday the Nobility with their President the Duc de Luxembourg waited in a Body on Their Majesties and the Royal Family to express the sense they entertained of their obligations to His Majesty, for His declared intention of supporting their Rights, and the true principles of the Constitution: their example was not followed by either of the other two Orders.

On the following day (Wednesday) the three Orders assembled in their respective Chambers, when nearly two huudred of the inferiour Clergy quitted their own Body and joined the Tiers-Etat which must have materially strengthened that Order: the rest of the Clergy separated under no small degree of consternation.

The Archbishop of Paris was much insulted on his way to Versailles last Tuesday, and on his return home afterwards, although

he was escorted by a strong Detachment of Guards, he was hissed by the populace as he passed and suffered other marks of disapprobation from them.

The Duc d'Orleans was on the contrary greatly applauded out of doors.

It is beyond a doubt that the greatest want of harmony exists in the Cabinet, and no stronger proof can be given of it than the absence of M. Necker on Tuesday last from the Séance Royale, all the rest of the Ministers being present. A Cabinet Extraordinary was held on the preceding Sunday at which the King's two Brothers, Monsieur and the Comte d'Artois, assisted, when M. Necker produced a speech which he had drawn up for the King, but which His Majesty disapproved and rejected altogether, and at the same time ordered two Counsellors of State, M. de Gallisière and M. Videau de la Tour, both very able men, to express what His Majesty made them understand that He wished to convey to His people, and which those two Gentlemen drew up in the form delivered by His Majesty, two copies of which I send Your Grace. Owing to this defeat of the Director-General of the Finances, in the Cabinet, it was the general opinion that he would be dismissed immediately from His Majesty's service, but the anxiety and regret that was manifested by the people upon that supposition is probably his security for being continued in Office, as that Minister's removal would certainly be attended with the most fatal consequences, and there is little doubt that a National Bankruptcy would be an immediate consequence : while on the other hand it seems to be probable that M. Necker's continuance in his present situation will be the means of producing a complete Revolution in the Government. This Minister's popularity was strongly marked on Tuesday last when the Populace assembled in great number before his house at Versailles where they played off a fire-work and carried at the end of a long pole a transparent paper lanthorn on which was written : *Vive Necker, le sauveur d'un Pays opprimé*, expressing at the same time, by loud acclamations, their extreme anxiety that he should remain in Office : M. Necker desirous of preserving tranquility, went out to the people and

prevailed upon them to disperse by repeatedly assuring them that His Majesty had not any intention of dismissing him from His service. From what I am able to learn M. de Montmorin is the chief if not the only supporter of M. Necker in the Cabinet, and M. Barentin, the Garde des Sceaux, his chief opposer : it is very probable that this chief Magistrate will be obliged to resign as it seems hardly possible that he can act with M. Necker. The Cabinet in general are zealous supporters of the King's authority. The Comte d'Artois has given the most unequivocal proofs of His zeal in the same cause and is a strenuous advocate in favor of the rights of the Nobility.

Such is the distracted State of this Country at present : a few hours even may possibly decide everything : if the King (whose conduct throughout has been marked with the most unfeigned desire of contributing to the happiness of his People) gives way in this moment of contest, a complete Revolution will have been effected in this powerfull and extensive Kingdom without recourse being had to violence, but if His Majesty decided to support the principles He advanced no later than Tuesday, a civil war is, in my opinion, inevitable.

A duel was fought last Saturday morning between the Prince de Poix and the Comte Lamberti, in consequence of a dispute about their powers over their respective Regiments in case of an open rupture, which lead to a discussion of M. Necker's conduct ; the Prince de Poix having espoused the cause of the Tiers-Etat supported the measures of that Minister. The Comte Lamberti received two wounds supposed not to be dangerous: the Prince de Poix was slightly hurt in the side.

The Archevêque de Narbonne (Dillon), Brother to the late Lord, has declared himself a Bankrupt for two millions, reserving to himself a considerable annuity ; every one acquainted with his mode of living and his general character for irregularity in his payments is only surprised that this event did not take place long ago.

The last Letters from Vienna, dated the 16th Ins^{t}., mention that His Imperial Majesty was much mended having remained eight

days free from fever : but a Gentleman, who is just arrived from that Capital and who left it about the same time informs me that His Majesty's death was expected every day ; that He does not see any one of His Ministers, transacting what business He was capable of attending to, in writing.

I send Your Grace inclosed the answer I have received from M. de Montmorin together with the copy of M. de la Luzerne's Letter to that Minister respecting M. Lesage and other English prisoners detained by Tipoo-Saib : Your Grace will observe how desirous His Most Christian Majesty's servants are of contributing all in their power to the release of these unhappy sufferers.

An Arrêt du Conseil d'Etat du Roi accompanies also this Despatch for prolonging the dispensation allowed by a former Arrêt to the Caisse d'Escompte from payment of their notes to the 31st of next December.

The public Places of amusement at Versailles have not been opened since the death of the Dauphin.

The reports concerning the scarcity of corn in the neighbourhood of Paris have but too much foundation : the deficiency of this material article extends to the distance of 15 leagues round the City and is so severely felt that Administration has been obliged to supply the different great Markets, by sending corn from the Magazines of the *Ecole Militaire* originally intended for the consumption of the Capital : in regard to the other Provinces of the Kingdom there is no further apprehension, as they are sufficiently supplied ' till the ensuing harvest which has every appearance of being very plentifull.

P.S. I have this moment heard from Versailles that the Duc d'Orleans with 48 members of the Nobility went and joined the Tiers-Etat in the great Assembly-Room : this important event has been received out of doors with the greatest demonstrations of joy; the rest of the Nobility continued sitting.

It is impossible to foresee what measures the King will adopt in consequence of this event.

The French Guards have, in some few instances within these few days, shewn a great reluctance to act and some of the men

have declared that if they should be called upon to quell any disturbance they will, if compelled to fire, take care not to do any mischief. The Archbishop of Paris was very ill-treated last night by the mob at Versailles : his coach was broke to pieces and his horses much bruised: if the Guards had not protected him he must himself have been inevitably destroyed.

The people now are disposed to any desperate act of violence in support of the *Assemblée Nationale*. I shall not fail to send Your Grace immediate intelligence of any momentous occurrence during this critical state of affairs.....

26. Dorset to the Duke of Leeds.
28th June 1789.

I lose no time in communicating to Your Grace the important occurrences of yesterday at Versailles, and the sudden change effected thereby in the Constitution of this Kingdom.

The greater part of the Clergy having already joined the Tiers-Etat it remained only to be seen whether or not the Nobility would follow the example of that Order, as well as of a certain number of their own Members, headed by the Duc d'Orleans.

The whole day of Friday was passed in deliberating upon this important question, and yesterday, in consequence of the final resolution, the remainder of the Clergy and the whole of the Nobility (excepting three, whose names I have not hitherto been able to learn) went and joined the Tiers-Etat forming by this means a regular National Assembly, which will be confirmed by the King in due form on Tuesday next.

Your Grace may easily imagine what was really the case, that nothing but the pressing urgency of the moment could have induced the Nobility to relinquish at once all fnrther design of persevering in their original determination ; but when it was seen that the King's personal safety was actually endangered, that was a motive for giving way which could not be resisted : the fermentation of the people, from the moment when the Tiers-Etat had so far gained their point as to bring over to their Body a part of the other two Orders, for the purpose of verifying their returns in

common, became very alarming, added to which some of the Military joined in the popular cry, and the French Guards had even been wrought upon to bind themselves by oath not to support the King under the present circumstances : many of these paraded the capital in small bodies, openly boasting of the engagement they had entered into not to obey their Officers : it may well be conceived the effect this had upon the populace who now became quite ungovernable at Versailles, as well as at Paris, insomuch that the King and the Royal Family were no longer secure from outrage even in the Palace : in this situation of things His Majesty, after consulting with the Presidents of the two first Orders on Friday evening, decided upon writing the Letter, which I have the honor of sending Your Grace herewith inclosed, and which was addressed to the Duc de Luxembourg, President of the Nobility, at that time assembled : this Letter occasioned a very warm and interesting debate, and there is reason to think would not after all have produced the desired effect, had it not been followed by one from the Comte d'Artois whereby His Royal Highness earnestly entreats that Assembly to comply with the King's wishes, representing the extreme danger to which His Majesty's person would be exposed, if that Body continued any longer to persist in their refusal to join the Tiers-Etat. No sooner was this Letter read than most of the Members started from their seats and declared themselves ready to give every proof in their power of their zealous affection for His Majesty, and tender regard for the safety of his person ; immediately after which they proceeded to join the rest of the Deputies in the Common-Hall.

As soon as this event was known out of doors the greatest demonstrations of joy were manifested by the people, who assembled in great numbers under the windows of Their Majesties, crying : *Vivent le Roi et la Reine.* The King and Queen appeared for some minutes at the balcony, and upon their retiring, the people went in the same manner to the several apartments of the Royal Family.

They afterwards proceeded to M. Necker's House, where they

remained a considerable time testifying their approbation of that Minister's conduct.

M. de Montmorin had also a share of the popular applause, but none of the rest of the Ministers were noticed : this circumstance gives room for suspicion that the mob had been properly instructed and perhaps influenced, probably by pecuniary consideration, to take the part they did.

Nothing can equal the despondency of the Nobility upon this occasion, forced as they have been by an extraordinary and unexpected impulse to sacrifice in one moment every hope they had formed and the very principles from which they had resolved and flattered themselves that no consideration whatever should oblige them to depart.

I send Your Grace the printed accounts of all the proceedings since last Wednesday.

Some late advices from India mention the extreme discontent of Tipoo Saib at our having taken possession of the Province of Guntoor, and that He entertained hopes of engaging the Marhattas to join Him in opposing the English and their Allies.

P.S. The Maréchal de Ségur is named Governor of Alsace, and the Comte de Rochambeau to the command of that Province; both in the room of the late Maréchal de Stainville.

I send Your Grace the Journal de Paris of this day containing a full account of the proceedings in the *Assemblée Nationale* on Friday last.

27. Dorset to the Duke of Leeds.
2nd July 1789.

....The important event of Saturday last has been followed by the greatest demonstrations of joy both at Versailles and at Paris, which have continued ever since ; I may add to a degree of licentiousness to which the defection of the French Guards has greatly contributed : notwithstanding which the excesses of the populace in manifesting their zeal for the cause of the Tiers-Etat have not hitherto been attended with any fatal consequences : an Abbé

however, who was indiscreet enough to deliver his sentiments of M. Necker, not favorable to that Minister, narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by the mob in the Garden of the Palais Royal, where Persons of all descriptions assemble every evening in great numbers, particularly at a noted Coffee-House (le Caffé de Foix) where neither Ministers nor any who are distinguished by favors of the Court are spared. The King, the Duc d'Orleans and M. Necker have the popular cry, and of the last mentioned (the only one of the three whose conduct comes under discussion in that place) no one is allowed to speak in terms of censure.

Tuesday evening exhibited a very extraordinary scene in the Gardens of the Palais Royal ; — some few days before fifteen of the French Guards had been taken up for various misdemeanours which they had committed and were confined in a prison, called *l'Abbaye*, in the Faubourg St. Germains, from whence it was intended to send them privately to Bicêtre in order to their being punished according to their deserts : they contrived however to get a Letter conveyed to the Caffé de Foix making known their situation, upon which a mob to an amazing amount, proceeded immediately to the prison and rescued the Soldiers, whom they carried in triumph to the Palais Royal where they paraded them amidst the acclamations of a prodigious Number of people : the following morning a man with a basket in his hand made a collection, to which everyone who passed, contributed for the benefit of the Soldiers who had been thus taken under the protection of the populace.

Yesterday a numerous body of citizens signed a petition in favor of these delinquents and presented it to the *Assemblée Nationale* with a view of obtaining their pardon ; in the mean time they are at liberty. The mutinous spirit which has shewn itself pervades the whole Regiment of French Guards, and at Versailles the men who have been ordered upon duty at the entrance of the avenues leading to the House of Assembly have gone so far as to lay aside their fire-locks while at their posts. The Swiss Guards as well as two other Swiss Regiments have been extremely attentive to their

duty, as have likewise been the Dragoons and other Cavalry which have lately been quartered in this City and the environs.

The disturbances which have continued in the Capital, ever since the day of the *Séance Roiale* have extended to almost all the neighbouring parts of the Country, and to so alarming a degree as to make it necessary to take away the fire-arms from all the inhabitants : this measure was put in execution at Monthery and all the adjacent villages, by the Marechausée of the Place, assisted by detachments from the Regiment of Chasseurs de Lorraine, and the arms seized upon were deposited at Monthery.

His Majesty has appointed the Maréchal de Broglie Commander in-Chief of the Troops both at Versailles and Paris. Several Regiments are on their march from different parts which are to be encamped in the neighbourhood of the Capital during the summer. Orders have been given to erect Batteries on the heights above Sêve and St, Cloud, and many hundred men are now employed on the declivity of Montmartre preparing a spot for the same purpose.

Government has also directed that employment be found for as many workmen as possible on the roads near this City, in order to draw them off from joining in the disaffection which is industriously encouraged in the Capital, by open discourse and all sorts of inflammatory publications.

The Patroles of Dragoons and Hussars are more frequent and much stronger than during the time of the riots in the Faubourg St. Antoine.

The Regiment of Salis-Samade has been obliged to exert its discipline, for which it is so famed, on an occasion that is often contagious through the force of example. Two of their men were hanged yesterday morning and several others received fifty *Coups de Sabre*, all of them for having aided and abetted the French Guards in thir mutinous and disorderly behaviour.

It is said that a person, who had been an officer in the French Guards, has been taken up upon being discovered distributing money amongst them.

It is thought that the Maréchal de Broglie will advise His Majesty to send this disorderly Regiment from the Capital, if not

break it entirely, but it would not be safe to attempt either the one or the other before the arrival of other Troops.

The partizans of the French Guards pretended that the discontent of the men proceeds from a dislike of their Colonel, the Duc de Châtelet which has given rise to a report that he is to be removed from the Regiment: that he will be made a Maréchal de France and that the Maréchal de Broglie will be appointed to succeed him. It is very certain that the Duc de Châtelet has not conducted himself with judgment since he came to that command, yet the removing him at this time might be considered as an act of compliance with the wishes of the men which they by no means deserve.

The Swiss Regiment of Diesbach is lately arrived and is quartered at St. Cloud, intimation having been given that the People of Paris have a design of demolishing the Palace there.

In the present very interesting moment it is difficult to foresee how matters will terminate; the Nation seemingly on the eve of establishing its liberties is yet in danger of losing all its advantages by the intemperate zeal of the lower order of people, and M. Necker, notwithstanding the admiration with which he has inspired them of his virtues and talents, may at last repent the having brought things to such an extremity, in the present fallen state of National credit, and when a famine in many parts of the Kingdom is still apprehended, since every exertion has been made to avert that calamity from the Capital, by which some of the Provinces are nearly exhausted.

The Marquis de St. Simon, the Comte de Chartre, and a Deputy of the Nobility of the Province of Poitou were the three Members who refused to take their seats with the other two Orders.

The *Assemblée Nationale* met on Tuesday last according to adjournment from the preceding Saturday and proceeded to verify the returns of all the Members in common.

The Printed Paper which I send Your Grace intitled *Assemblée Nationale* du 30 Juin is a very exact account of what passed on that day, but the protestations of those of the Nobility who declare the impossibility they find themselves under of acting

without receiving fresh instructions from their Constituents, are much more numerous than appears by that Paper.

It will be yet some days before the States can proceed to business, and of course His Majesty will suspend any act by which His Royal sanction would be given to validate the proceedings of the Assembly 'till it is regularly constituted.

I send Your Grace the proceedings of yesterday and Your Grace will no doubt be surprized to learn that the Assembly deliberated seriously for some hours upon the answer they should give to a society of people deputed, as they say, by the assembly of the Palais Royal.

A Deputation from the States waited upon His Majesty yesterday evening to intercede in behalf of the mutineers who were released by the populace, but His Majesty has not as yet given an answer to this request. The anecdote of the French Grenadier Guards is authentic, and is a disgrace to their Corps, but the insinuation thrown out against the Swiss Guards is false and the effect only of calumny.

It is imagined that the Archbishop of Vienne will be chosen President of the States without opposition.

The East India Company has just made a Dividend of 16 p^{r} c^{t} having very nearly 4 p^{r} c^{t} in reserve for the next: this the second Dividend, the first being only 14 p^{r} c^{t}.

P.S. The stocks, notwitstanding the complexion of the times, continue to rise.

28. DORSET TO THE DUKE OF LEEDS.
6th July 1789.

I take the opportunity of a private conveyance to send Your Grace the printed accounts of the proceedings of the States-General from Thursday last inclusive.

On Friday the Duc d'Orleans was chosen President, but His Highness declining, the Archbishop of Vienne, à Prelate of a most respectable character was elected, almost unanimously, and has accepted that important and dignified appointment.

The fermentation has been less violent within these last two or

three days and people's minds are much calmed since the publication of His Majesty's Letter to the Archbishop of Paris, respecting the reclamations in favor of the Soldiers who were forcibly taken from the Prison of L'Abbaye : these soldiers have since surrendered themselves.

The scarcity of bread grows every day more alarming, but hopes are given that there will be an ample supply of that article in the course of about 10 days.

Troops are daily arriving in this neighbourhood, but the Camps will not be formed till the middle of next month at the soonest.

29. DORSET TO THE DUKE OF LEEDS.
9th July 1789

I had the honor of writing to Your Grace by a private conveyance on Monday, when I enclosed the printed accounts of the proceedings of the States-General from last Thursday : the Debates of Monday and Tuesday, which I send Your Grace herewith, are interesting in that they disclose the want of the means of subsistence for the poor people generally throughout the Kingdom.

Your Grace will also perceive, by the deliberations of these two days, that a patriotic spirit has diffused itself in many of the Towns of Britanny, on the part of which a voluntary offer is made to resign, for the benefit of the Nation, certain pecuniary exemptions which have hitherto been exclusively enjoyed by them.

M. de Mirabeau made a motion yesterday to address the King praying His Majesty that He would be graciously pleased to give orders that the Troops, which are collected in the neighbourhood, remove to a certain distance (ten leagues) from the Capital : the motion passed unanimously and the Address was, I understand, presented to His Majesty yesterday evening. No answer has as yet been given, but it was much suspected that if the request should not be complied with the States would themselves remove to either Orleans or Blois, and thus set the Royal authority at defiance : the Guard that is regularly every day posted at the entrance leading to the Assembly-House is a circumstance that gives great umbrage : it has been said that the States might very

possibly decide to hold their Meetings at Paris instead of Versailles, a step which I am persuaded would not fail of producing an open rupture which would make it necessary for His Majesty to call out His army for the protection of His person, as well as the only means of supporting the dignity of His Crown.

Notwithstanding the outward appearance of unanimity between the several Orders I have the greatest reason for believing that the Noblesse and Tiers-Etat secretly entertain a rooted animosity against each other, which will sooner or later manifest itself, and possibly the King's answer to the Address of yesterday may be such as will call forth an open avowal of the real sentiments of both Parties, for it is hardly to be expected that Government can be so weak and impolitic as to give way in this instance, since a concession of such a nature would be the last acknowledgement that need be required of its inefficacy : yet such has been upon several late occasions the want of proper firmness that I shall not be much surprized at finding that the King has been counselled to comply with the requisition before mentioned.

M. Necker has more than once expressed his uneasiness at the appearance of so large an Army, which sufficiently proves that that Minister was not consulted upon the measure, and consequently is not in the full confidence of His Sovereign.

The Maréchal de Broglie, to whom the command of the Army is given, is a man of a very determined character, and is what the French call *un bon serviteur du Roi :* such a Person in the King's Council must be a great check upon the encroaching advances of the representations of the Tiers-Etat, if anything can check them ; for it is well understood that the Maréchal will not, so far as shall depend upon his exertions, suffer His Royal Master's authority to be impaired in the smallest point.

His Majesty's lenity towards the French Guards who were released from prison by the populace, in granting their pardon at the interposition of the States-General in their behalf, has had the good effect of stopping the fermentation which for some days agitated this Capital, to which also the continual arrival of Troops has probably contributed very much, for the spirit of popular party

is not a little overawed by the unexpected reinforcement of German and Swiss Auxiliaries, whose military discipline is perhaps of itself sufficient dependance for Government to rely on, and with whom, a further security against corruption, it will be difficult to tamper on account of their ignorance of the French language.

A camp is already formed, of about 2500 men, in the *Champ de Mars*, adjoining to the *Ecole Militaire*: strict orders have been given not to admit any visitors, and every possible precaution taken to prevent the soldiers from having any intercourse with the common people.

A small camp is also to be formed immediately at St. Denis, but no large encampment can take place 'till after the harvest: the whole number of men in the environs will amount to 30,000.

On Monday evening last a serious dispute took place at Versailles between the French Guards and the Hussars who are quartered there: it seems that it was agreed that three of each Regiment should be selected to decide the quarrel: there were accordingly three duels fought, in every one of which the French Guards were worsted and one of them is said to be mortally wounded.

The Officer commanding the Maréchaussée immediately upon receiving information of this affair, secured the combatants and put them into confinement: in the meantime the populace having learned that the French Guards had been roughly handled by the Hussars assembled in great numbers and surrounded the Quarters of the latter in a very riotous manner; when the Colonel of the Maréchaussée, who was attempting to appease the tumult, received a very severe blow of a stone in his face which obliged him to retire, upon which the Hussars sallied forth sword in hand and without doing any other mischief than slightly wounding two or three persons, dispersed the mob entirely. The Regiment was, immediately afterwards ordered out, and paraded, on the same spot where the people had assembled, without being further molested.

There is an account from Lyons of a very serious disturbance that has lately happened there: the Town having illuminated in honor of the *réunion des Trois Orders*, the mob broke the windows

of all the Houses that did not light up, and afterwards paraded in a most riotous and tumultuous manner to the different *Barrières* of the Town which they destroyed after ill-treating the Officers of the Custom and burning all their papers : the Dragoons interfered and fired on the people, vast numbers of whom procured arms and maintained a contest with the Troops for three days successively during which many on both sides lost their lives.

At Metz also a disturbance happened upon a similar occasion ; however no lives were lost, but the Marquis de Bouilly, in the account he gives of what passed, censures the conduct of the soldiers as having obeyed the orders of their officers with great reluctance.

An Order was sent from the War-Office a few days ago to take off and secure the locks of all the muskets, of which there is a considerable quantity, deposited at the *Hôpital des Invalides ;* this order may perhaps have been issued in consequence of an alarm that was given that the populace had a design of making themselves masters of the fire-locks ; it therefore saves the duty of a detachment of troops which it would otherwise be necessary to station there.

Letters from L'Orient bring intelligence of the arrival there of three ships belonging to the Dutch East India Company, on board of which was the Luxembourg Legion in the service of that Company ever since the war, and which was disembarking in order to be discharged ; each officer and private, to receive a certain stipulated sum. As this Legion was completed in a very short space of time and was composed of all sorts of vagabonds, it is to be supposed that proper precautions respecting these men will be taken during the time they remain at L'Orient.

The Sieur Réveillon has received a very flattering letter from M. Necker in which that Minister informs him that His Majesty has granted him a gratification of thirty-thousand livres Tournois to recompense him in some measure for the losses he sustained during the insurrection in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and also that His Majesty has given orders that the medal he had formerly received as a recompence for the progress of his manufacture and

which was stolen from him in the above-mentioned commotion should be struck over again and presented to him.

The same letter also mentions several other bounties of His Majesty to his different manufactures of paper established in Paris.

.....*P.S.* I have this moment heard that His Majesty, in his answer to the Deputation from the States-General in consequence of M. de Mirabeau's motion respecting the removal of the troops, says that he cannot comply with their request unless the Magistracy (meaning the Parliament) with whom He must consult, will take upon themselves to answer for the tranquility of the Capital.

30. Dorset to the Duke of Leeds.

12th July, 1789.

I dispatch a messenger extraordinary to Your Grace to acquaint you with the removal of M. Necker from His Majesty's Councils : this event took place yesterday and M. Necker left Versailles very privately about 8 o'clock the same evening, intending, it is said, to go to Geneva. M. de Montmorin is also dismissed and the Duc de la Vauguyon will certainly be named to that Department. I have not heard of any other changes, nor is it known for certain who is to succeed the late Director-General of the Finances.

The Baron de Breteuil has been privately at Versailles for several days past and it is thought that he will be named Principal Minister with a Council to regulate the particular Department of Finance.

Another version is that Monsieur, the King's Brother, is to be named first Minister assisted by the Baron de Breteuil, the Duc de la Vauguyon and M. d'Espresmenil ; all that can be depended upon at present is that the Baron de Breteuil will certainly have the greatest share in the new appointments.

I have not been able to inform myself of all the circumstances attending M. Necker's removal, but it is an undoubted fact that he more than once solicited His Majesty to accept his resignation offering at the same time to go away privately : His Majesty did not, however, think proper to assent before yesterday, when He

ordered the Comte de la Luzerne to deliver to M. Necker a letter signifying that He had no longer occasion for his Services.

It is impossible to form any conjecture of what may be the consequence of this bold measure of the Court at a moment when the minds of the people are at the height in adoration of M. Necker :—Paris is in the utmost confusion, and the Town is full of troops, but notwithstanding every possible precaution is taken to prevent disorder, it will be very difficult to check the frenzy of the mob.

The defection of the French Guards and of many other of the National Troops still prevails and a Corps of Artillery-Men went yesterday to the Gardens of the Palais Royal to declare their resolution not to serve against the cause of the people at this juncture : the Swiss, German and the *greater* part of the National Troops continue to be very steady.

All access to Versailles is stopped for those who attempt to go thither on foot.

Last night the mob burnt one of the Gates at the entrance of the Town by the Rue de Clichy, having taken offence at the Custom House Officers under some trifling pretext : some Dragoons were ordered to attend but the mischief was done before they arrived, and nothing further was attempted. Almost every day has produced some act of violence : two men who had been confined for disorderly behaviour at the works of Montmartre were released by force the next morning ; and a few days ago a man fell a victim to the fury of the populace at the Palais Royal.

I send Your Grace a printed account of this shocking proceeding : the poor wretch died a few hours afterwards of the barbarous treatment he had undergone.

I send Your Grace an interesting publication concerning the precautions taken by His Majesty to have a sufficient supply of grain for this Capital during the last eight months.

P.S. Several of the Members of the States-General have sent messengers after M. Necker to endeavor to prevail upon him to return.

I send Your Grace the printed accounts of the proceedings of the States-General of Thursday, Friday and Saturday in last week.

Postscript. July 12th 1789, 10 o'clock P.M.

I have this moment heard from Versailles that the Baron de Breteuil est nommé chef du Conseil des Finances, Mons. de la Vauguyon est Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, et le Maréchal de Broglie, Ministre de la Guerre.

31. Dorset to the Duke of Leeds.
16th July, 1789.

I wrote to Your Grace on the 12th Inst. by a messenger extraordinary to inform you of the removal of M. Necker from His Majesty's Councils: I have now to lay before Your Grace an account of the general revolt, with the extraordinary circumstances attending it, that has been the immediate consequence of that step. On Sunday evening a slight skirmish happened in the Place de Louis XV, in which two Dragoons were killed, and two wounded of the Duc de Choiseuil's Regiment: after which all the troops left the Capital, and the populace remained unmolested masters of everything: much to their credit however, uncontrouled as they now were, no material mischief was done; their whole attention being confined to the burning of some of the Barriers. Very early on Monday morning the Convent of St. Lazare was forced, in which, besides a considerable quantity of corn, were found arms and ammunition supposed to have been conveyed thither as a place of security, at different periods from the Arsenal: and now a general consternation was seen throughout the Town: all shops were shut; all public and private works at a stand still and scarcely a person to be seen in the Streets excepting the armed *Bourgeoisie*, a temporary police for the protection of private property, to replace the established one which no longer had any influence.

In the morning of Tuesday the Hospital of Invalids was summonsed to surrender and was taken possession of after a very slight resistance: all the cannon, small arms and amunition were immediately seized upon, and every one who chose to arm himself

was supplied with what was necessary : two of my servants, whom I had sent out on messages and directed, for private reasons, to put off their liveries, were compelled to go to the Hospital where they received two very good muskets which they brought away with them : the cannon was disposed of in different parts of the Town : in the evening a large detachment with two pieces of cannon went to the Bastille to demand the ammunition that was there, the *Gardes Bourgeoises* not being then sufficiently provided : a flag of truce was sent on before and was answered from within, notwithstanding which the Governor (the Marquis de Launay) contrary to all precedent fired upon the people and killed several : this proceeding so enraged the populace that they rushed to the very gates with a determination to force their way through if possible : upon this the Governor agreed to let in a certain number of them on condition that they should not commit any violence : these terms being acceded to, a detachment of about 40 in number advanced and were admitted, but the draw-bridge was immediately drawn up again and the whole party instantly massacred : this breach of honor aggravated by so glaring an act of inhumanity excited a spirit of revenge and tumult such as might naturally be expected : the two pieces of cannon were immediately placed against the Gate and very soon made a breach which, with the disaffection that as is supposed prevailed within, produced a sudden surrender of that Fortress : M. de Launay, the principal gunner, the tailer, and two old invalids who had been noticed as being more active than the rest were seized and carried to the *Hôtel de Ville* where, after a very summary trial before the tribunal there, the inferior objects were put to death and M. de Launay had also his head cut off at the Place de Grève, but with circumstances of barbarity too shocking to relate : besides the abovementioned the *Prévôt des Marchands*, M. de Flesselles, who the day before was unanimously called to preside at the Assembly at the Hôtel de Ville for forming regulations relative to the tranquility of Paris and to means of furnishing the Town with provisions was, upon a suspicion that was raised against him, seized in his own house, when a letter (said to be from the Baron de Breteuil) was

found upon him, in which he was desired to amuze the citizens as well as he could for the reasons *he knew;* this was sufficient to draw upon him the fury of the people ; he was immediately shot with a pistol, and his head was cut off, which, with M. de Launay's and the tailer's hand, all placed upon pikes, was exhibited at the Palais Royal and afterwards in several of the neighbouring Streets. In the course of the same evening the whole of the *Gardes Françoises* joined the Bourgeoisie with all their cannon, arms and ammunition : the Regiments that were encamped in the *Champ de Mars*, by an Order from Government left the ground at 2 o'Clock yesterday morning and fell back to Sêve, leaving all their camp equipage behind them ; the magazines of powder and corn at the *Ecole Militaire* were immediately taken possession of and a *Garde Bourgeoise* appointed to protect them. Nothing could exceed the regularity and good order with which all this extraordinary business has been conducted : of this I have myself been a witness upon several occasions during the last three days as I have passed through the streets, nor had I at any moment reason to be alarmed for my personal safety.

Since Tuesday morning the police has been most strictly observed : the principal inhabitants of every parish were summonsed to meet at their respective Churches in order that each parish should undertake to furnish a guard for its own protection : No one however has been allowed to go out of Paris and all those who have come in, especially on the Versailles side, have been strictly searched and any letters found upon them have been taken to the *Hôtel de Ville* to be examined : M. de Crosne, *Lieutenant Général de Police*, owing to a discovery that was made by this means has found it necessary to secrete himself, as has also the Baron d'Ogny, *Maître des Postes* on a similar account. M. de Crosne's house has already been forcibly entered and all the books and papers relative to the police destroyed.

Nothing material happened in the course of yesterday, (Wednesday) morning, but about 3 o'clock in the afternoon a Deputation arrived from Versailles at the Palais Royal, to announce that the King had been present at the States-General where He made the

speech, which I have the honor to send Your Grace enclosed, and which was communicated to the Hôtel de Ville : the Deputation returned the same evening to Versailles : the coolness with which this news was received seems to have thrown everybody again into the utmost consternation, and, to judge by circumstances, the diffidence of the people is greater than ever for all the barriers are doubly guarded.

The general wish now is that the King would come to Paris and it was hoped yesterday that His Majesty would be induced to shew Himself here on this day, but it is said that He is prevented coming by indisposition : it is thought difficult to foresee what measures the people will have recourse to : the general idea however is that an armed Body of Citizens to the number of at least 50,000 will go to Versailles and forcibly bring their Sovereign to the Capital. The disposition of the people at this moment is so unfavorable to the Court that I should not be surprized if the States-General, by appearing to give too much credit to the King's professions, should lose the consideration in which they have hitherto been held by the Nation.

The Populace will not easily forgive the removal of M. Necker ; for they seem determined to push their resentment to the utmost lengths : but God forbid that should be the case, since they have already got the upperhand, for who can trust to the moderation of an offended multitude ?

The regularity and determined conduct of the populace upon the present occasion exceeds all belief and the execration of the Nobility is universal amongst the lower order of people.

I cannot omit to mention a few incidental circumstances which have happened within these last two or three days. The Prince de Lambesc, who commands the Regiment of Royal Allemand very imprudently exposed himself on Sunday last in the Gardens of the Thuilleries, when, his person being well known, the people soon collected round him, and if he had not immediately taken to flight, whereby he fortunately escaped, there is little doubt that he would have been destroyed,

The Duc de Châtelet also had a narrow escape : having occasion

to go to his house in Paris, he disguised himself sufficiently, as he thought, not to be known, and was crossing the River in a boat with other passengers, one of whom discovered him and he would inevitably have been thrown overboard had not two French Guards who were in the boat taken compassion upon him, and luckily had influence enough with the other passengers to prevail upon them to spare his life and suffer him when they landed to depart.

Upon searching the Bastille not more than 4 or 5 prisoners were found, of whom none had been there any length of time, except an Englishman who calls himself Major White, and who had been confined in a dungeon upwards of 30 years : he was questioned by some English Gentleman who happened to be near while he was conducted away, but the unhappy man seemed to have nearly lost the use of his intellects and could express himself but very ill ; his beard was at least a yard long ; what is very extraordinary he did not know that the Bastille was the place of his confinement, but thought he had been shut up at St. Lazare, nor did he appear to be sensible of his good fortune in being released ; he expressed however a strong desire of being taken to a *Lawyer*.

Another event which I think worthy of a place in my letter is the escape of the Earl of Massareene after a confinement of nearly 18 years : His Lordship with 24 others in the *Hotel de la Force* forced their way out of prison last Monday morning without the loss of a single life in the attempt. His Lordship, who has always expressed a great sense of gratitude for the small services I have occasionally rendered him since I first came to Paris in my present character, came directly to my Hotel with 6 or 7 of his companions, the rest having gone their different ways : I, however, soon prevailed upon Lord Massareene and the others to go to the Temple, which is a privileged place, and where he may therefore be able to treat with his creditors to some advantage.

His Lordship told me that it was his design to go thither, but that he thought it right to pay me the first visit.

An Officer of the French Guards is now under trial for his life at the Hotel de Ville, upon an accusation of being concerned in an attempt the day before yesterday to destroy three whole companies

of that Regiment in their Barracks by poisoning their victuals : it is said that the cook who was employed made the discovery.

Everybody since Monday has appeared with a cockade in his hat: at first green ribbons were worn but that being the colour of the Comte d'Artois' livery, red and white in honor of the Duc d'Orleans, have been substituted.

Thus, My Lord, the greatest Revolution that we know anything of has been effected with, comparatively speaking, if the magnitude of the event is considered, the loss of very few lives : from this moment we may consider France as a free Country ; the King a very limited Monarch, and the Nobility as reduced to a level with the rest of the Nation.

I send Your Grace a list of the changes that have been made in the Ministry as far as I know them, for the communication between the Capital and Versailles having been stopped for the last two days, I cannot be certain that others may not have taken place.

Your Grace receives also herewith the proceedings in the Assembly of the States-General up to Tuesday.

So long as people are prevented, as at present, going out of this City, I shall be deprived of the opportunities of which I should otherwise avail myself to give Your Grace information of events as they occur so early as I wish to do.

The Marquis de la Fayette is named commander in chief of the *Milice Bourgeoise* and M. Bailly, late President of the States-General, is appointed Prèvôt des Marchands : these nominations are made by the people.

The Royal Treasury is in the hands of the Bourgeoisie and is untouched : the Caisse d'Escompte is also under the same protection and payments are made there as usual.

I have been obliged to apply to the parish Officers of the District in which I live for their influence with the Hotel de Ville to obtain permission for my messenger to depart, which has been promised in the handsomest manner possible.

At least 200 workmen are employed in pulling down the Bastille, but as it is a construction of uncommon strength, it will require some time to erase it entirely.

P.S. 11 o'Clock P.M.

Lanyun the messenger is just returned from the Post-House where though he shew'd an Order for Horses given him at the *Hotel de Ville* the *Garde Bourgeoise* pretended that they had received a counter-order and that they could not permit him on any account to depart ; he however takes this with the hope of getting out on foot and when clear of the Town of procuring a horse to proceed.

32 Dorset to the Duke of Leeds. 17th July, 1789.

In the course of last night a courier from Versailles announced the King's intention of coming to Paris this day and, to the great joy and satisfaction of this City, He arrived about half past 2 o'clock in the afternoon : His Majesty came in a coach drawn by 8 horses, and was attended by the Duc de Villeroy, Capitaine des Gardes du Corps ; the Duc de Villequier, Premier Gentilhomme de la Chambre ; the Maréchal de Beauvau ; the Comte d'Estaing, and two Equerries : another coach followed in which were four other attendants.

His Majesty had no other escort than the *Milice Bourgeoise*, as Commander in chief of which the Marquis de la Fayette rode a little before the King's coach, accompanied by several of the principal tradesmen of Paris : the whole way from the entrance at the Barrier at Passy to the Hôtel de Ville was lined on each side with armed citizens : the most perfect tranquility and, I might almost say, silence was preserved 'till His Majesty reached the Place de Louis XV (for it was settled that He should pass that way, and through the Rue St. Honoré by the Palais Royal) where nothing was heard but *Vive la Nation ! Vive Necker ! vivent les Gardes Françoises* to whose defection the nation is indebted for the Revolution that has taken place. The King appeared much depressed at entering the Town. I do not understand that His Majesty performed any particular act at the *Hôtel de Ville*, and I am told that He certainly did not sign to any engagement. He said that He appeared there to gratify the wishes of the Citizens of Paris and to assure them of His readiness to do everything in His power to quiet their minds and restore tranquility to the City. I have not

been able yet to procure accurate information of all that passed at the *Hôtel de Ville* during the time the King staid there, nor what was the form of His Majesty's reception : certain however it is that He appeared much more composed on His return and every mark of loyalty and affection, sufficiently testifying the satisfaction that was felt, was given by an astonishingly numerous and well-disciplined populace: I think I can venture to say that there were not fewer than 150,000 men bearing arms this day in Paris. His Majesty passed by the *Place de Louis XV* about 7 o'clock on His return and probably reached Versailles about nine.

Whoever, of those who were present when the King passed by in His way to the *Hôtel de Ville*, had the least personal regard for His Majesty, must have felt for His situation during the mournfull procession which appeared to be rather that of a captive than of a patriot King: many people entertained apprehensions for his safety, not knowing how far the intemperate zeal of an indignant mob might provoke a hasty vengeance.

The King, as a prelude of his submission to the wishes of the nation, had already dismissed all his new confidential servants, excepting M. de la Galissière, who I understand remains in office some time longer, though he has desired to have leave to retire: and His Majesty as a further mark of condescension has sent to recall M. Necker who is expected to arrive to morrow, if he is not already at Versailles : it is said too that M. de Montmorin, M. de Puységur, and M. de la Luzerne are all reinstated in their several departments, The Garde des Sceaux, and M. de Villedeuil, Secretary of State for the home department, have resigned. I have not heard whether or not the Maréchal de Broglie is to be continued Commander-in-Chief.

Owing to the numerous infamous libels that have appeared against the Duchesse de Polignac, and the threats of a triumphant populace, she has thought it necessary for her safety to leave the Court, and is, I hear, gone to Spa.

The Comte d'Artois also has thought proper, from the apprehension no doubt of disagreeable consequences, to leave Versailles which he did yesterday evening with great secrecy, and it is said

that His Royal Highness accompanies the Duchesse de Polignac: the animosity that had been shewn against the Comte d'Artois was indeed sufficient to alarm him and on this account His Royal Highness had ordered all his effects as well as his horses to be removed from Paris to save them from the destruction which the fury of the populace seemed to threaten: all the furniture of *Bagatelle*, a beautiful villa belonging to the Comte d'Artois in the Bois de Boulogne has been secreted also for the same reason, and none of his servants dare to appear in his livery; the amiable disposition of this Prince makes him much regretted by his private friends and those who lived in his society, while the decided part he took and the noble stand he made in defence of the rights and privileges of the Nobility, must ever endear him to that Order of the Nation, especially since to the spirit with which His Royal Highness exerted himself in their cause, is to be attributed the popular resentment of which he is at present so much the object.

There are no accounts from any of the Provinces very lately, excepting from Rouen where it is said that nearly an hundred persons have lost their lives by a struggle in the popular cause.

I send Your Grace the proceedings of the States-General of the 14th and 15th inst., which are exceedingly well worth Your Grace's perusal.

I send also the 15th, 16th and 17th Letters of the Comte de Mirabeau.

M. de Foulon, who was named to the Marine Department in the room of the Comte de la Luzerne, died suddenly last Tuesday of an apoplectic fit while he was transacting business with the Maréchal de Broglie.

33. EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM PARIS.
July 22nd 1789.

The Revolution in the French Constitution and Government may now, I think, be looked upon as compleated, beyond all fears of any further attempts being made by the Court Party to defeat it. The entrance of the King into Paris was certainly one of the most humiliating steps that he could possibly take. He was actually led

in triumph like a tame bear by the Deputies and the City Militia. The whole party, inimical to the rights of the people, are dispersed. The Count d'Artois and his whole family (except the Countess, who is much beloved) the Condés, Contis, Polignacs, Breteuils, Vaudreuils, etc. are all fled and people are talking of confiscating their estates. The news we have from the Provinces are much more favorable than could have been expected. Every where the people and the soldiers seem to have been animated with the same spirit. In Brittany, where the greatest apprehensions were entertained, not a drop of blood has been spilt. The soldiers refused to obey their officers, and many of them joined the people. Fifty thousand Bretons were in arms, ready to march to the assistance of the Parisians, and there is no doubt, that if the King had not come round, they would not have left a Nobleman's house standing thro' the whole Province.

There certainly never was an instance of so astonishing a Revolution operated almost without bloodshed, and without the people being led on by any leader, or by any party, but merely by the general diffusion of reason and philosophy. We shall soon be able to form a guess what is the nature of the constitution that is intended to be adopted in France. A Committee of 8 members is chosen to form a plan, which will afterwards be laid before the whole Assembly for its approbation. The three people who will probably have the greatest share in this important work are M. Mounier, the Abbé Sieyès and the Count of Clermont Tonnerre, all three men of first rate abilities. From what is known of their ideas and principles it is thought the Executive Power will be left solely to the King, who will be deprived of all share in the Legislative Authority, which will be lodged in the National Assembly, formed into one Body, without distinction of Orders. The best French Politicians (con trary to the opinion of de Lolme) look upon the division of the Legislative Authority in England as a great defect in our constitution, and the principal source of that system of corruption which takes place with us. Another circumstance in which it is thought the French Constitution will differ essentially from ours, will be to have a power in the State superior to that of the National Assem-

bly, by leaving to the people in great and important Constitutional points the right of controuling the proceedings of their Representatives, in the manner which takes place in the United States of America. Several years must pass over, before we can judge of the advantages, and disadvantages of such a form of Government.

The situation of Count Merci, the Imperial Ambassador, must be very disagreeable ; a constant Guard is kept round his Hotel and everything that goes out or in examined most narrowly lest he should hold a correspondence with the Queen.

The spectacles opened yesterday but were but thinly attended, as most of ye Noblesse are still afraid to quit their houses.

34. Dorset to the Duke of Leeds.

23rd July 1789.

I had the honor of writing to Your Grace by the post of last Monday, and as I understand that the mail has been permitted to depart regularly without interruption I flatter myself that my letter will have duly reached you.

I was at Versailles on Tuesday last when the King received the Foreign Ministers as usual : everything was quiet and calm in that quarter : M. de Montmorin received the Ministers : M. de la Luzerne finally determined on that day to resume his situation in the department, from which he had been removed ; that Minister had twice refused to accept of the place.

M. Necker is not yet arrived, but there is every reason to believe that he is expected at Versailles this evening. Some people have entertained doubts of his chusing to return to a situation the difficulties of which he must have found very embarrassing before his dismission, but which have become so in a much greater degree since his departure : it is however much to be wished, for the sake of the publie tranquility that he should appear again at the head of affairs and that soon, for the Nation is looking to that event as their only consolation, and the people of Paris in particular are restrained in a great degree by the expectation of seeing M. Necker reinstated.

This City has continued under the protection of the *Milice*

Bourgeoise, perfectly free from all kind of tumult 'till yesterday evening when two executions took place in the *Place de Grêve :* one of the unfortunate persons who suffered was M. de Foulon, whom I have had occasion to mention to Your Grace in some of my late despatches. I have not been able to learn what crime was alledged against him that was thought to merit so severe a punishment, but it is evident either that his conscience was not at ease or that he was apprized of the perilous situation in which he stood, for he certainly endeavored to have it believed that he had died suddenly, and, to countenance the imposition, his family and servants put on mourning ; he was however discovered at his Country-House by some one who knew him by sight, and who gave the alarm which ended in his being forcibly brought to Paris: he was first hanged ; his head was then cut off and carried upon a pole to meet his son-in-law M. Berthier, Intendant de Paris, whose death was also decided upon and who had been seized at Compiegne : this victim arrived, escorted by sixteen-hundred persons, at the Hôtel de Ville late yesterday evening, and, after a short examination which was interrupted by the clamours of the populace, underwent the fate that was prepared for him, notwithstanding that the Marquis de la Fayette harangued the people in the most urgent manner and did all in his power to prevail upon them to spare M. Berthier's life.

The Duc de Châtelet's goods, which his servants were attempting to remove from Paris, were seized a few days ago in the Street, and conducted to the Hôtel de Ville : the carriages in which the goods were packed and the horses were immediately sold in the Place Dauphine, and the money arising from the sale is to be as I understand divided amongst some of the French Guards, who had claims upon the Duc de Châtelet on the score of some transactions between them when he commanded the Regiment.

On Monday last a waggon, apparently loaded with straw, was stopped on a suspicion arising from its being drawn by 8 horses, when it was discovered that cases containing not less than 4 millions of livres were concealed under the straw : this sum of money has been lodged at the Hôtel de Ville and appears to have

belonged to a Fermier General who was desirous of conveying it to some place of safety as a provision, it may be supposed, against an emergency.

The accounts from Britanny mention that several Regiments in different parts of that Province have laid down their arms upon being ordered out to quell disturbances: and at Havre-de-Grace the whole Garrison upon receiving the news of what had happened at Paris, marched out and left the Fort and its appendages to the Bourgeoisie who immediately took possession.

I hear that a Milice Bourgeoise is becoming general throughout the Kingdom.

The appearance of the crops everywhere promises a plentifull harvest and removes the apprehensions that had become so alarming on account of the scarcity of grain: the poor people in many parts of the Country are however still suffering greatly from the want of bread.

The Duchesse de Duras and M^me^ de Montmorin are both talked of to be Governante one or other of them, to the Royal Children in the room of M^me^ de Polignac.

It is reported that Her Majesty accompanied by the Dauphin is to come to Paris to-morrow in order to go to the Church of Notre Dame.....

35. Dorset to the Duke of Leeds.
27th July 1789.

Tranquility is in a great measure restored to this Capital, and, owing to the precautions that are taking, there is reason to expect that it will, in a short time, be perfectly re-established.

Insinuations, which might prove essentially injurious to the English, now resident in Paris, having been industriously propogated here for some days past and instilled into the minds of the populace, tending to make it believe that Emissaries from England have been actively instrumental in fomenting the disorders that have lately been committed in this Town, I have judged expedient to write to M. de Montmorin the letter a copy of which I have the honor to send herewith enclosed, in which, as Your Grace will

observe, I remind that Minister of the open and friendly part His Majesty's Ministers took upon a late occasion, when the wicked scheme, in contemplation against Brest, was proposed to them with the view of engaging the English Court to take a share in it.

I did not think it necessary to write again to Your Grace on the subject, conceiving that the steps I had taken to apprize the French Court of the conspiracy that was forming, and the warm acknowledgments that I received in consequence from His Most Christian Majesty through M. de Montmorin, had closed that business, and that the purpose of obviating the black designs that were instituted by the male-contents of this Country was effectually answered.

Amongst other insinuations at this time circulated in Paris it is asserted that the English Ambassador is known to have been employed in distributing great sums of money for the purpose of cherishing and augmenting the discontents that prevail here ; it is unnecessary that I should tell Your Grace how entirely destitute of foundation is this as well as all other reports of the same kind, but it is become highly essential for my own security and likewise for that of the rest of my Nation now at Paris and in other parts of the Kingdom, that I should be furnished immediately with the further authority of my Court to refute in the most satisfactory manner possible reports evidently calculated to prejudice the English Nation in the eyes of the people of this Country, and which, if they continue to be credited, may materially affect the personal safety of all His Majesty's subjects at present in France.

I have therefore to intreat Your Grace that you will lose no time in again repeating to me, what I have upon so many occasions been instructed to declare to the Minister at this Court, the unequivocal assurances of friendship and wishes for a continuance of that harmony and good-understanding which the two Courts have mutually professed towards each other.

The Baron de Stael, the Swedish Ambassador, and son-in-law of M. Necker, is arrived at Versailles charged with a letter from M. Necker to declare his consent to resume his situation at the head of the Finances : this letter is to be laid before the *Assemblée*

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Nationale this day, but M. Necker it is said will not reach Versailles before the middle of the week.

I have the honor to send Your Grace the proceedings in the National Assembly of Thursday, Friday, and Saturday in last week.

36. Dorset to the Duke of Leeds.
28th July, 1789

I had the honor of writing to Your Grace by the post of yesterday, a duplicate of which letter is herewith enclosed, together with another copy of my letter to M. de Montmorin in which a few immaterial alterations, (as Your Grace will perceive) were made at the desire of that Minister.

M. de Montmorin communicated my letter to the President of the *Assemblée Nationale*, by whom it was read yesterday and received by the Assembly with marks of great approbation. It will afford me much satisfaction to know that my conduct upon this occasion meets with the approbation of His Majesty and of His Majesty's confidential servants; the critical situation of things at the moment required some unequivocal assurances of the pacific intentions of the Court of London, and there was no time to be lost in communicating them ; for the greatest effervescence existed for several days in consequence of the insinuations that had been thrown out, and I had hints given me by persons very well-informed that it was unsafe for the English to appear in public, and that it was especially adviseable that they should not mix in any crowds which so frequently collect in this Town. One circumstance had rendered *me* the particular subject of animadversion.

Baron de Castelnau, who is supposed to be much connected with the Comte d'Artois, was stopped the middle of last week by the Milice Bourgeoise, and taken for examination to the Hôtel de Ville, where, amongst the letters found upon him, was discovered one, of which he had taken charge, from me to the Comte d'Artois.

I had nothing to apprehend from the contents of my letter being known, which, as appeared upon it's being opened, consisted entirely of expressions of compliment ; but, with the strong prejudice that prevails against that Prince, it was sufficient the being

spread abroad that I had written to the Comte d'Artois to make me an object of public attention, and this circumstance, accompanied with other aggravating insinuations seemed to expose me as well as the English in general to the most disagreeable consequences. I am willing to flatter myself that the public communication of my letter to M. de Montmorin will have the best effect possible; nevertheless Your Grace must, I am persuaded, see the necessity of transmitting to me without loss of time such further assurances of good-will towards this Country, as may be the means of entirely removing the unfavorable impressions that have been conceived here upon the idea that England was taking advantage of the troubles of France to commence hostilities.

I also sent a copy of my letter, which was to be read before the Assemblée Nationale, to the Marquis de la Fayette, in order that he should lay it before the Committee at the *Hôtel de Ville.*

Tranquility is apparently restored in this Capital, but it cannot be said that the fermentation is wholly subsided, for the accounts daily received here of disorders committed in the Provinces keep alive the flame, and the scarcity of grain continues to augment the general calamities : in Franche Comté the peasants have destroyed many of the gentleman's houses. The lawless sett of people whom the late tumults have set to work, make it very unsafe travelling at present, especially by night, and I really think it necessary that some public caution be given to put those upon their guard who may propose to visit this part of the Continent.

It is expected that M. Necker will arrive at Versailles to-morrow, or at latest, on Thursday.

The Cabinet at present consists only of M. de Montmorin; M. de St. Priest, and M. de la Luzerne.

His Majesty is waiting the arrival of M. Necker to take his advice in regard to the other appointments.

As there is no business of a public nature that seems to make my presence here essential at this time, I presume His Majesty will not object to my availing myself of the leave of absence transmitted to me by Your Grace some time ago.

Madame la Marquise de Tourzel (whose husband was killed by

a fall from his horse while hunting with the King at Fontainbleau the last time the Court was there,) is appointed *Gouvernante* of the Royal Children, in the room of the Duchesse de Polignac.

37. Dorset to the Duke of Leeds.
30th July 1789.

The numerous printed accounts, which daily appear, of all that passes, both at Paris and Versailles (for the liberty of the Press seems at present to have no bounds,) leave but little, of a public nature, for me to communicate to Your Grace.

M. Necker arrived at Versailles in the night of Tuesday, much to the satisfaction of His Majesty and His Ministers, the affairs of the State having been almost wholly suspended for some time past. Public notice of M. Necker's return has not yet been received at Paris, but I take for granted that, as soon as it is formally notified to this Capital, the inhabitants will exhibit some testimony of their joy on the occasion, and will communicate to that Minister, in some public manner, the sentiments of gratitude and satisfaction with which they are impressed.

I send Your Grace a copy of the King's letter to the Marquis de la Fayette respecting those men, belonging to different Regiments who joined in the popular cause.

On Tuesday last the Marquis de la Fayette performed the ceremony of incorporating the French Guards, under the appellation of *Gardes de la Nation*, by which they are henceforward to be distinguished : the uniform of this Regiment is to be changed, and it is no longer in any respect of royal institution.

I do not know whether or not it is decided that this Regiment, under it's new form, will share, with the Swiss Guards, as heretofore, the King's duty at Versailles, but I should imagine that, if it depends on the option of the Sovereign, His Majesty will dispense with their attendance on His person.

Your Grace receives, among other papers, a Récit of the taking of the Bastille, which I have reason to believe gives a pretty exact detail of the operations against that fortress, excepting that it greatly exaggerates the number of persons killed ; not more than

7 or 8 having lost their lives during the whole of that affair. The plan herewith inclosed, which I am told is very accurate, serves to illustrate the account that is given of the attack and subsequent advances. Either the misconduct or the pusillanimity of the Garrison (which indeed consisted of not more than 80 Invalids) rendered the capture of the Bastille a work of no great difficulty nor of long duration. The fate of the Governor M. de Launay, is generally lamented, for he was an officer of great merit, and always treated the prisoners committed to his charge with every degree of lenity and humanity of which the nature of their situations would admit : it may be observed that the mildness of the present reign is strongly characterised by the small number of persons who were discovered in confinement in the Bastille : yet the considerations were not sufficient to check the fury of the populace, animated by the success of the enterprize and heated with the spirit of vengeance.

I mentioned in a former despatch a Major White, who was one of the number, but I have never since been able to discover what became of him after his enlargement.

Several Registers and curious papers having been brought away by different persons from the prison, it may be expected that much important information will be collected from them, whereby many points of history will be represented in their true colours : the small pamphlet I send Your Grace is supposed to contain authentic letters of the *Maréchal de Saxe :* some interesting anecdotes respecting the person so well known under the description of *L'Homme au Masque de fer* will probably come to light : this extraordinary character having been removed from the *Isle St. Marguerite* to the Bastille, where he died after a confinement of many years.

Private letters from Lisle mention that, on the first news of the revolution at Paris being received there, many persons of opulence supposed to be secretly attached to the measures of the Court, became objects of the outrages of the populace : their houses were destroyed and other acts of violence were committed, but happily for them no attempt was made against the persons of even the

most obnoxious of them : the large Garrison that is always kept in that Town, was of little or no service on the occasion, and it was not 'till the Citizens had adopted the measure, pursued in the Capital, of forming a *Milice Bourgeoise* that quiet was restored : since that period Lisle has enjoyed perfect tranquility.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint Your Grace that my letter to M. de Montmorin, having, agreeable to my request and the intent with which it was written, been laid before the National Assembly, has produced the desired effect in having very much quieted the minds of the public by removing the suspicions which had become very general in regard to the conduct of the English and the designs of the British Court.

The fermentation of this Capital continues to subside, but there are still many parties dispersed over the Country for the purpose of discovering the retreats of those who are marked objects of the resentment of the people : but it is supposed that most of them have found means to quit the Kingdom.

Letters from the Duchesse de Polignac, received by several of her Friends at Versailles, announced her safe arrival at Basle in Switzerland, together with the Duc de Polignac ; the Duchesse de Guiche, their daughter ; and the Comtesse Diane de Polignac, the Duke's Sister. Mme. de Polignac's plan is to settle for some time in that Country.

His Royal Highness the Comte d'Artois, I have been informed, is at Namur or at Bonne. His two Sons, the Duc d'Angoulême and the Duc de Berri, are at Mons. Their Serene Highnesses the Prince de Condé and the Duc de Bourbon, with the Duc d'Enghien and Madame Louise, the Duc de Bourbon's Sister, were at Brussels when the last letters came away, but their intention was not to remain there.

The Prince de Conti has not been heard of since he left this Country.

No less than seven Princes of the House of Bourbon and one Princess, have fled in consequence of the troubles, but it is scarcely possible to imagine that the Nation will not, when the violence of its resentment begins to subside, be desirous of seeing these august

personnages reinstated in their respective situations of dignity, especially too upon the motive of policy, when it is considered what immense sums of money will be thrown into the hands of foreigners, during their absence from this Kingdom.

It is not known that any letters have been received from any of the late Ministers: the Baron de Breteuil is supposed to have taken refuge in England: M. de la Vauguyon in Switzerland. M. Barentin (late Garde des Sceaux) is gone to Avignon, and M. de Villedeuil either to Brussels or Switzerland. The Duc de Châtelet is the only person on the proscription list who remains at Versailles where he is perfectly safe and attends regularly his duty as Member of the National Assembly.

The report of the Queen's intended visit to the Capital was void of all foundation, and, though it was announced in a printed paper, had all the appearance of having been fabricated with the malicious view of irritating the populace by an artificial disappointment: happily however the author has been disappointed in his expectation, for nothing further has been said on the subject.

Since the commencement of the late disturbances the Comte de Merci (His Imperial Majesty's Ambassador at this Court) has cautiously avoided appearing in Paris; this Minister has been mentioned by the popular party in the most opprobrious terms as being the supposed adviser of the Queen: it is however to be hoped that his respectable character will insure him that justice from the public which his liberal way of thinking so much entitles him to.

It is strongly reported that the Maréchal de Broglie, at the head of four Regiments, attempted to enter Metz (of which place he is Governor) but was refused admittance: whither he has since retired is not known.

M. Necker met the Duchesse de Polignac at Basle, where they had an interview that lasted a full hour, and received from that Lady the first information of His Most Christian Majesty's intention to request that he would return to Versailles in order to be reinstated in his late situation at the head of the Finances.

P.S. The Archbishop of Bourdeaux presented a plan yesterday

to the National Assembly from the Committee to which he belongs, proposed as a basis of a new Constitution: the principle of which is to form an Assembly of a certain number of persons (the number left for further consideration) who shall continue their functions as Guardians of the liberties of the people 'till such time as it may be found expedient to convoke another National Assembly: this idea seemed to meet with general approbation.

Since writing the above I have been informed that M. Necker came this morning to the *Hôtel de Ville* where he was received with every mark of joy and satisfaction: He was escorted from the Bridge at Lêve by a large party of Horse of the Milice Bourgeoise, who also returned with him to the same place: it is expected that the Town will be illuminated this evening.

38. Mr. Eden to the Duke of Leeds.
Sep. 3rd 1789.

...The new alarms which took place at Paris and Versailles three or four days ago have been removed by the spirit and activity of the armed Citizens who begin to be sensible that a state of Anarchy is a state of intolerable terror and uneasiness. They have accordingly arrested M. de St. Heureuges and other Leaders of the last Commotions; and have taken effectual measures to disperse the seditious Meetings which have lately so much prevailed at the Palais Royal. Some degree of security is consequently restored to the inhabitants of this town, to the Members of the Assemblée Nationale, and to the Court of Versailles; but it seems impossible to form any speculation as to what turn the fermentation and public affairs of this Kingdom may take.

The Plan of a Constitution recommended by the Committee of the Assemblée Nationale and opened by Monsieur de Lally Tolendal would probably have procured a period of tranquillity, and would have allowed the entering upon the great work of providing for the Debt and the Deficit, both of which in the present state of things are increasing every hour: but the Assemblée Nationale is ill circumstanced in all respects. The Members of the Noblesse and of the Clergé cannot bring themselves to wish cordially for any

result which, however necessary to the Kingdom for the sake of its internal tranquillity, may sanctify the violences done to their respective classes ; and the representations of the Tiers Etat, considered collectively, are factious, ignorant and absurd. There are in all the Orders some individuals of great integrity, right meaning, and good talents ; but in general they are under intimidation from the lower people of Paris and of the chief Provincial Towns; and there is not yet any man who stands forwards with talents and weight to guide the others : In effect the Kingdom of France is at this hour governed by some nameless individuals who assemble every morning and evening at the Hotel de Ville de Paris. The Court of Versailles is not only in appearance but in fact in a state of imprisonment. The nominal Ministers of the Country avow without reserve that they are merely nominal. The Church is not only without influence but without respect, and is soon likely to be without bread. The Army is without discipline, and almost without soldiers. The treasury is without money, and nearly without credit; tho' M. Necker's last Rapport (which is an excellent composition) will probably effectuate the new loan of forty millions : and lastly the Magistracy is without power or functions. It is certainly possible that from this chaos some creation may result ; but I am satisfied that it must be long before France returns to any state of Existence which can make her a subject of uneasiness to other nations....

39. Copy of a letter from Mr. Jenkinson, dated Sep. 10th 1789.

I was yesterday at Versailles and present at the most extraordinary scene I have yet witnessed, the decisions of the Three great Constitutional Questions viz. The Permanence of the Assemblée; whether there should be one or two Houses; whether the King should have the Power of sanctioning and refusing the Laws, was fixed for that Day.

The first was carried in the affirmative without much trouble. When the second was proposed, a most violent disturbance arose. Many members insisted that it was necessary to decide how the two houses were to be formed before they could come to a vote upon the question. The Party of M. de Mirabeau would not let

anybody speak, but persisted in interrupting everyone who rose, by crying *au voix ! au voix !*

As the President was going to put the question, M. de Lally Tolendal presented himself, and insisted upon being heard. He was supported by many members of the Assemblée.

But the same party, persisting in interrupting him, the President determined to put the question, whether Mons. de Tolendal should be heard. This the Party of M. de Mirabeau would not permit. The greatest insults were offered to the President. They asserted that he himself had desired M. de Lally to insist on speaking, which he directly denied. A Member asked him *s'il n'etoit pas lassé de fatiguer l'Assemblée.* Another told him that he disgraced his situation. Provoked by these insults, he began by declaring that he adjourned the Assemblée. This they denied that he had the power to do. At last he left the Chair and desired they would chuse another President. The popular Party immediately called M. de Liancourt to the Chair.

M. de L. said he had no right to take the Chair, as M. Clermont Tonnere had been President since him and was then in the House. M. de Clermont Tonnere defended the conduct of the Evêque de Langres, contended that he had a right to adjourn the Assemblée, and said that if he took the Chair, it would be merely to do the same thing. This was accordingly done, and the Assemblée broke up. At the opening of the Assemblée in the Evening, M. de Clermont Tonnere read a letter from the Evêque de Langres in which he confirmed the resignation of his Presidentship. The Assemblée would not receive his resignation and desired M. de C. Tonnere to preside till Saturday, the day on which they regularly chuse a new President. Thus these important questions remain undecided. Paris has been more quiet within the last Week than at any Time since I have been here.

40. Copy of a letter from Mr. Jenkinson, dated Sep. 17th 1789.

You will see by the inclosed Papers, that the two great questions are at length decided. The Assemblée have decreed by a majority

of 740 that there shall be no Upper House, and by a Majority of 350, that the King should have only the Power to suspend the execution of the Laws, and not to refuse them. You may remember, that in one of my former letters I told you, that I thought the Court Party had miscalculated in supposing that they should have a majority upon the latter question ; I heard Lord Robert Fitzgerald say that from a calculation which he had seen, there would not be 250 Members against the *Veto absolu ;* I persisted in the contrary opinion tho' at that time, few would believe me. You may perhaps be surprized, that the majority on the former question should be so very much greater, than that on the latter, and I am very happy in being able to give you the reason. The Idea of M. Necker was to create a senate consisting of 200 Members. It is generally believed that the Peers of France were to be of the number, but in addition to them, M. de Tolendal, M. Chappelier etc. etc. to the amount of 150 were to have seats in it. The greater part of the Noblesse could not bear the idea, that persons of no rank or consideration in the Country should be raised to a dignity so important as this, and should be put upon a level with themselves. They therefore united in opposing an Upper House. You may depend upon this fact, I have heard many of them say it myself, and glory in their victory. The Clergy were actuated by a different motive. It is certainly their wish, that matters should be carried to the greatest extremities, for in that case, either this, or the next Assemblée, will be obliged to revise what has been done, and in the alterations they may think it necessary to make, they may perhaps be induced to reacknowledge the Dixmes, as the Property of the Clergy.

For the last two or three days, the Assemblée have been wasting their time in useless discussions, on the succession to the Throne. They have as yet come to no decision. This unnecessary delay creates great discontent at Paris. Bread has been rather scarce for the last two or three days.

41. Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds.
7 Oct. 1789.

I dispatch a messenger extraordinary to give Your Grace some account of the unprecedented events of the day and for that purpose must carry Your Grace as far back as Thursday last which gave birth to the scenes of horror and confusion I have since been witness to.

It being customary, My Lord, as I am informed, for the *Gardes du Corps* at Versailles to give an entertainment to any new Regiment that arrives in that Town, the Regiment *de Flandres* was that Day sumptuously entertained with a Dinner by that Corps in the Palace.

After Dinner Their Majesties judged proper to honor the Company with their presence, and to shew much seeming satisfaction in the general joy that prevailed among the guests.

On their appearance the music instantly beat up to the tune of *O Richard O mon Roi*, and the company joyning in a chorus seemed to unite all ideas in the one unanimous sentiment of loyalty, and a love for the King, and nothing was heard but repeated shouts of *Vive Le Roi*, within and without the Palace. Happy would it have been had their Festivity ended in noise and singing, but unfortunately they forgot themselves, and in the height of imprudence and mistaken zeal they all tore the National Cockade from their Hats and trampled them underfoot, with many oaths against all those who wore them and whom they considered as traitors to the King. The Garde du Corps supplied themselves with black Cockades in the room of those they had thrown away in such disdain, and this circumstance, My Lord, however trifling it sounds, was of lamentable consequences and proved the ruin of that fine corps of men. The news of this day soon reached Paris and general ill-humour spread visibly throughout.

On Saturday the Palais Royal was much disturbed, and it became unsafe to walk the streets with black Cockades, as several strangers experienced, from whose hats they were torn with much violence and abusive language. On Sunday the confusion encreased and

in consequence of some motions made in the Palais Royal a vast concourse of people tumultuously proceeded to the Town House, which it is said they pillaged of some money, altho' many affirm it was only to demand bread and to enquire into the real causes of the extreme scarcity of it at this season of the Year.

On Monday morning, My Lord, we were much surprised and at first much entertained with the ludicrous sight of a female army proceeding very clamourously, but in order and determined step towards Versailles.

I do not exaggerate when I assure Your Grace that there could not have been less than five thousand women who, armed with every weapon they could possibly pick up, proceeded on this expedition, which bore a more serious aspect when we perceived they were followed by the numerous inhabitants of the Fauxbourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau, besides many detachments of the Milice Bourgeoise. In the evening our alarms for Versailles encreased with our astonishment when we found that 20,000 of the Milice Bourgeoise with M. de La Fayette at their head were under march to the support of the numerous bands of disorderly people who had preceded them in the course of the day. We waited the events with much anxiety all night and on Tuesday morning received the unpleasant account of there having been blood spilt. The Gardes du Corps were the first who fired on the Parisians and five or six people, chiefly women, were killed : the Regt. *de Flandres* was also drawn out to oppose this torrent, but the word to fire was no sooner given than they, to a man, clubbed their arms and with a shout of *Vive La Nation* went over to the Parisians. Some troops of Dragoons that are quartered at Versailles also laid down their Arms, and the Swiss detachments remained motionless having received no orders from their officers to fire. The Garde du Corps being thus abandoned and overpowered by numbers fled precipitately into the gardens and woods, where they were pursued and vast numbers were killed and taken prisoners.

I wish, My Lord, the vengeance of the Parisians had ended there, but seeming desirous their fellow citizens should share and

witness their triumph, they carried some of the heads of their unhappy victims to Paris, and paraded them through the Streets on spikes. These dreadful scenes occupied the curiosity of all on Tuesday morning, when the sudden and unexpected report came that the King, Queen, and Royal Family were on their way to Paris. I confess I entertained doubts of the possibility of the Royal Family's moving from Versailles to Paris at so short a notice and was only convinced of the truth of what I heard when I saw the people flocking from all parts of the town and above 50,000 Militia proceeding to line the Streets and the Road to Versailles. Their Majesties and the Royal Family arrived between 7 and 8 o'clock in the evening after having been 6 hours on the Road. The carriages all proceeded to the Town House, but for what purpose I have not yet been able to learn ; the concourse of People that attended is not to be described and the shouts of *Vive La Nation* filled the air. From the Town House they were conducted to the Palace of the *Thuilleries*, totally unprepared for their reception, but where it is said they are to remain and fix their future residence. Such, My Lord, is the hasty but impartial account of what has passed here ; any comments of my part must necessarily fall short of the occasion, as I believe the event is unparalleled, but I shall hope by Thursday to give Your Grace particulars of it all, which the shortness of my time prevents me from supplying you with at present.

The conduct of the Regt. de Flanders in which the utmost reliance and confidence was laid, much astonished and confounded every body.

Mons. de La Fayette's life, I must also remark, was menaced in case He refused to conduct the *Milice Nationale* to Versailles.

42. Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds.

8th Oct. 1789.

To resume the subject that occasioned my Dispatch express yesterday morning, I shall inform your Grace that, H.M.C. Majesty and Royal Family having taken up their residence Tuesday night at the *Thuilleries*, those Gardens were on the morning following

crowded with People from all quarters of the Town, who called loudly and impatiently out to them, and especially the Queen, to shew themselves. The whole day passed in that fatiguing but necessary Ceremony, and it is to be believed and hoped that Her Majesty gained many hearts by her condescensîon and affability as those very People who the day before vowed her death and loaded her with the most opprobrious language now shouted *Vive La Reine* and said aloud that She had been much wronged by those who wished her ill, but that they would prove her defence and support at the expence of their lives.

This day their Majesties received the foreîgn Ministers and I shall freely confess to your Grace that their situation excited much compassion and was extremely moving.

The Palace seemed in the utmost disorder, was crowded with all sorts of people without distinction and the dignity of Majesty was confounded in the chaos.

The King was much dejected and said little. Her Majesty's voice faltered and the tears ran fast down her cheeks as she spoke, and all their Attendants seemed impressed with the deepest melancholy and concern : during this time, My Lord, altho' the second day since their arrival, the gardens were still thronged with people and nothing was heard but repeated screams and shouting, and, from the marked pain and distress on the countenance of all the Court, I do not doubt but that they all, from what they had so lately experienced at Versailles, considered themselves in a most precarious situation and by no means secure from popular violence, which, indeed, it is impossible for anybody to say they are. The people pressed so thickly this day on all sides the Palace that Mons. de la Fayette judged proper to post strong Guards of *Milice Nationale* and Cannon at the chief entries and gateways. The Persons of the Royal Family were also guarded by the *Milice Bourgeoise*, and the *Gardes du Corps*, who alone did their duty at Versailles on Monday, and who saved the Queen's life on that occasion when the Poissardes broke into her bed chamber at 2 o'clock in the morning, as I have since learnt are to be disbanded. Those unfortunate men can only shew themselves

here in company with the *Gardes Nationales* with whom they are seen walking about the Town arm in arm for protection.

From the Thuilleries we went to pay our court to Monsieur and Madame at the Luxembourg.

In a few days, My Lord, we may be better able to judge how matters will turn out, which at present it is impossible to see, as the blind and headlong will of the Populace directs all, and all submit with fear and trembling to their Government as the dangerous maxims that all men are equal, and that numbers can overcome a few, are in the mouths of every vagabond at present: Nothing is now left to the superior class of people but submission and the well proportioned exercise of that Policy, reason and education which may in time give them again the superiority over the Multitude.

The National Assembly, My Lord, still sits at Versailles 'till room is prepared here in the Louvres for their reception.

They have obtained the King's sanction to those Articles of the Constitution and *Droits de l'homme*, which I enclose to your Grace, but not until they had much reprobated and condemned his first answer on that occasion, as your Grace will see by the No. 93 of the Courier Française, which contains that answer and the heads of the debates that ensued on it. I also enclose to your Grace Mons. Moreau de St. Mery's Speech to the King on his arrival Tuesday night at the Town House.

I am happy to have it in my Power to say, My Lord, that there were not so many of the Gardes du Corps killed as I at first imagined. There were not more than seventeen people killed in all.

43. Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds.

15th Oct. 1789.

I will confess my Incapacity to give your Grace just ideas of the state of things here at present, as whatever observations one may be tempted to make one day the events of the succeeding day contradict in every point of view. Reports without number and of all natures, which one man will warmly maintain to be facts undoubted, while another person supports the contrary with equal energy, circulate and multiply so fast that it is a matter almost

impossible to chuse the good from the bad or to attempt to say with confidence in oneself, what is or what is not to be depended on : I do not therefore hazard my opinion so much as I might be tempted to do on many occasions, did I write with a view to amuse more than to inform with correctness ; I therefore trust, My Lord, that I may not be counted deficient if I do not engross your Grace's attention with every idle tale with which the times too fruitful in mischief and depravity so fully abound.

A most mysterious and impenetrable veil covers all at this moment, and from the dark face of things since the residence of the Royal Family in this Town, most fatal conclusions drawn : there are few people who do not believe that a third Revolution in affairs will shortly take place, and none who do not suppose it will be more bloody than the two former. Party, long kept low and humble by popular violence, which exhibited a false scene in which all played the same part, now gains strength and courage and it daily becomes more evident that there are ill-intentioned men in the State, who will strike any blow to obtain their purposes. Those very men who once stood most forward and high in the esteem of the people have not only fallen extremely low in their opinion, but are now suspected by them to have acted like other men in other Revolutions who, by making use of plausible pretexts and the arm of the multitude, obtain their own ends and neglect the interests of the people.

The Duke of Orleans, to the astonishment of everybody, quitted Paris yesterday morning early for England, and as by a late Decree of the National Assembly, no members can absent themselves without making known their reasons to the Assembly, those He desired might be given for his departure were, that H.M.C. Majesty had charged him with a private commission to England. His departure is considered as the summit of imprudence at a moment when numberless accusations appear against him as the chief promoter of all the troubles and misfortunes of this Country, in which ungracious service it is said he has expended the greatest part of his fortune. Endless conjectures, as your Grace may well imagine, are found on this hasty measure of His Highness, which

is no small triumph to his enemies who do not spare the deep die with which they at present stain the Prince's character.

There is, I am assured at this moment, much bustle in the Palais Royal on account of his departure but not of a flattering kind to him, as he is reproached for it in the vilest terms by all. On Tuesday he had a short conversation with the King, who it is said received him most coldly.

It is impossible to say, My Lord, if any conspiracy was really forming here, but certain it is that many people have been lately taken up and imprisoned on suspicion, among others are a Mons. de Livret, Mad[lle] de Bissy and Mons. L'abbé de St. Génies, all people of some distinction and upon whom it is pretended that papers of a treasonable nature have been found. These circumstances, attended with the marking of houses with chalk, which was observed for some nights together, spread much terror and alarm, which it seems from the accounts given by those people who were seized in the fact was the only motive. These matters however were considered in a serious light by Mons. de la Fayette and the Guards at the Palace were doubled for some time till the minds of people became more easy and the general alarm was in some measure abated.

During this time, My Lord, your Grace may conceive how unpleasant the situation of the Royal Family must be, deprived of their Body Guards and usual attendants, they are now surrounded by the *Milice Nationale* and guarded more like prisoners than Princes. It is now the tenth day since they have been at Paris and His Majesty, altho' accustomed to much exercise and hunting, has not been once out into the air, indeed a walk in the garden is deprived them, as it is constantly crowded with people, and suffered to remain a thoroughfare.

The Riding House at the Thuilleries has been fixed on by the Assembly to hold their future sittings in, and is preparing for their reception ; 'till it is ready, they are to meet at the Archbishop's Palace here. They are to come to Paris to-morrow but business will be suspended until Monday next, that they may have time to settle. It is not to be told, my Lord, how many of the members of

that Assembly have lately retired home, but I believe I may without exaggeration say that two hundred at least are gone and among them some of their best speakers, viz, Mons. de Lally Tolendal, M. Mounier and one or two more whose names I do not recollect at this moment. This emigration, if I may use the term, arose to that height as to give alarm, and caused that Decree of the Assembly which I mentioned in the former part of my Dispatch in speaking of the Duke of Orleans.

Mons. de Mirabeau has stamped his character for malignity more than ever by a very unprovoked attack on Mons. de St. Priest for words which he accuses him of having uttered, but which the known good sense and prudence of that Minister could never have permitted him to hold. Your Grace will see what I allude to by Mons. de St. Priest's letter which I enclose and which is much admired and depended on by all for integrity, altho' Mons. de Mirabeau persists in the accusation and insists on the *Comité des Recherches* taking cognizance of the affair.

The Royal Family receive the Foreign Ministers, My Lord, twice a week, at present on Sundays and Thursdays, which last day I shall confess to your Grace puts me to the greatest inconvenience, as I cannot commence my Dispatch till a very late hour as that ceremony occupies the best part of the forenoon. I therefore hope, my Lord, to meet with forgiveness if I have omitted any circumstances worthy of attention in the hurry I am obliged to write in, and shall submit to your Grace's consideration whether it would not be proper to change the day for my Dispatches for the reasons above mentioned.

44. Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds.

19th Oct. 1789.

Since my last, I have learnt that H. S. Highness, the Duke of Orleans has been stopped at *Boulogne-sur-Mer* on his way to England. The circumstances seem to be as follows: His departure was no sooner known here than some gentlemen of his party pursued him with the utmost expedition and reached Boulogne before him, where they strongly represented the impropriety of his leaving

France at this moment, declared that all Paris disapproved of it and that if he was suffered to go, his Friends must fall a prey to their enemies: On this, the Municipal Officers of that town represented the danger to his Highness, and requested of him to delay his journey and accept of a Guard of Honor while with them, which was immediately sent to him with the Colours of the Town, and he was treated with the utmost respect. The Corporation of Boulogne immediately dispatched Messengers to Paris with his Pass-Ports, to know if they were good and valid, upon the verification of which, they returned yesterday to Boulogne, and it is supposed His Highness will be suffered to proceed to England without further Impediment.

45. FITZ-GERALD TO THE DUKE OF LEEDS.
22 Oct. 1789.

...I could have wished to inform your Grace that as the Parisians had obtained their warmest wishes in receiving the King and the States General of the Nation within their walls, that peace and quiet were restored to this Capital, but that is by no means the case, and the prospect we have before us is not in any respect flattering.

The National Assembly commenced business at the Archbishop's Palace on Monday last, which day, altho' it is considered here as sinister, as it produced the two last great changes in Affairs, passed however very peaceably, altho' many Members, especially the clerical part of them, had much reason to tremble for their safety as the Inveteracy of the populace against the Clergy is by no means abated. Indeed their severe hand is still felt here and the sad effects of it are but too visible, as was proved yesterday by their cruel treatment of a baker, in whose house they pretended to say there was meal hidden which he would not bake, altho' they wanted bread. The unfortunate and innocent man fell a sacrifice to their barbarity and his head being cut off, it was paraded as usual about the town on a long spike :— The indifference people shewed at this melancholy spectacle was more shocking, My Lord, than the clamorous applause that usually attended those sights as

it shewed that they were familiarized with blood and that the massacre of a poor individual was considered as a matter of course, if he fell under their displeasure. This inhuman procession was suffered in the streets of Paris for several hours before the *Milice* interfered, but happily the four principal actors in the horrid deed were at length seized and are now under Trial and it is expected will be hanged this day, if the fear of the populace, who are at this moment in vast crowds on the Place de Greve, (the Place of Execution) does not suspend the Hand of Justice. This disturbance, as may be believed, caused much agitation in the Assembly as soon as it was made known there by a Deputation express from the Town House who, in the course of their relation of the facts, declared that good order could not be restored without a Martial Law being put into force against riotous and tumultuous Assemblies of the People. The Order of the Day was suspended, and the *Comité de Constitution* having taken the matter into consideration a Martial Law was immediately prepared, and unanimously agreed to by the Assembly, the Heads of which I have transcribed and transmit herewith. The Law having received the Royal Sanction was proclaimed aloud this day by the Heralds in the different quarters of the town.

The Garde des Sceaux, My Lord, was summoned yesterday to answer to the Assembly for some Decrees of that Senate, which, it was said, he had not yet sent into some Provinces, but that Minister giving a satisfactory account of the cause of the delay the matter was dropt without further enquiry.

There is nothing material from the Provinces, My Lord, except that the States of Dauphiné are said to be convoked, and it is supposed that the events that have lately taken place here are the objects to be taken into consideration by them. In general from the silence that has prevailed in the Country, one is tempted to believe that the Royal Proclamation in which the attempt is made to impose on the public credulity by endeavouring to persuade the people that His Majesty had voluntarily consented to his detention here, had produced the desired effect and attained its object in maintaining peace.

Under the extraordinary circumstances which have occasionally been conveyed to your Grace of the finances of this Country, it may become an object of enquiry how the expences of the Army and Navy are furnished! To explain this, My Lord, it is necessary to observe that, altho' M. Necker took a particular moment to display the distresses of the *Trésor Royal*, it was more to answer his immediate purpose than to give a true description of the general sums there deposited, many Provinces having paid with great exactitude all the taxes levied upon them, and particularly those which come under the denomination of *Provinces cédées*. These sums have universally been applied to the purposes abovementioned, and the demands have lately been considerably diminished from the extraordinary desertion of soldiers, the reduction of many officers, and the suspension of every degree of exertion in the different Ports, that is not absolutely necessary to keep their fleet in some degree of repair.

The distress has arisen chiefly to those whose money was employed in the public Funds, and they are for the moment the sufferers, as so little is paid them, and that with such inaccuracy, that the Nation in fact, may be called a Bankrupt, tho' it is Treason to declare it so.

It is now known for a certainty here, My Lord, that the Town and Citadel of Belgrade are taken.

P.S. I have this instant learnt that the people who murdered the baker yesterday were hung this day.

46. Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds.

29th Oct. 1789.

I have had the honor to receive your Grace's Dispatches No. 8 by post and No. 9 by the ordinary conveyance: to the latter which relates entirely to the Duke of Orleans I have, my Lord, paid every attention and made every enquiry possible on that head. Excepting the two or three first days after his departure, His Serene Highness was little spoke of, and he is latterly become a subject of as much indifference here as he was formerly an object

of popularity. When he is spoken of it is with the utmost contempt and in thorough detestation of his character by many, and with extreme indifference by others: by the Nobility, He is generally ill spoken of and among the people, he is only kept from sinking entirely, by the shattered remains of his popularity, which has decayed with a fortune that, all agree in saying, was scattered amongst them with a degree of liberality the more extraordinary, as that Prince was never before distinguished for that quality. At Court, My Lord, I can not exactly say how he stands, but I strongly presume that notwithstanding his Commission to the Court of Great Britain, and his Credential Letter to His Majesty, that he is in high disfavour with the Most Christian King. In short, My Lord, the general idea is that that Prince was chief promoter of all the disturbances here, of the expedition on Monday the 5th of this month to Versailles, that his designs against the King were of a very criminal nature, that he aimed at the Regency of the Kingdom for himself, and proposed to bring his own party into power. It is supposed also, that Mons. de la Fayette is the person who discovered the conspiracy forming, and that having made it known to the King, His Majesty in goodness of heart employed him on a pretended Commission to England, as a pretext only, and to shield him by honorable exile from further pursuit.

In the National Assembly I should suppose, his Highness had still many friends: The Baron Menore proposed there that, as Deputy of Cressy, He should be summoned to return and account for his conduct to the Assembly, as it not only raised strong suspicion against him, but was also very prejudicial to many members who were his friends. The Duc de Liancourt combatted the motion with much energy, the Duke of Orleans was not formally impeached, he said, the National Assembly was not to listen to or to be biased by libels and vague reports, and his motion, *qu'il n'y avoit pas lieu à deliberer* being adopted, his Highness was made no more mention of in that House. The enclosed Pamphlet entitled *Domine salvum fac Regem* pretends to develop the whole mystery, but to pronounce him guilty of all that he is accused of would be as rash as to declare him perfectly innocent.

I trust, My Lord, I may be pardoned for speaking so freely of His Serene Highness in which, I can have no other views, than strictly to inform your Grace, as far as in me lies, of the impression made on the different parties here by his unexpected journey to England.

The last week, My Lord, has passed very peaceably here, but should we want bread again, which indeed is alarmingly scarce, I must fear that the Martial Law will not protect us from violence of some sort or other; one or two of the districts protested against the Law and declared their non-compliance with it, but not being supported, judged proper to apologize awkwardly to the Assembly and to accede in appearance, altho' it is, I fear, with foundation, believed that if the *Milice Nationale* are called to act, that they will not do their duty. Altho', as I have said above, we have been tolerably quiet of late days; yet, My Lord, our position is by no means pleasant, the greatest jealousy still subsists between all orders of men: the sixty Districts, which are absolutely so many little Sovereignties within the Metropolis, exercise the most despotic rule over all. The Royal Family are confined to the Thuilleries and their situation, which is literally imprisonment, excites pity in the breast of every feeling man.

Conspiracies and plots are still supposed to be forming, and a *Comité des Recherches* is established at the *Hotel de Ville* and rewards, to the amount of a thousand Louis, are held out to those who will discover the enemies of the State and the public welfare: a Mons. Augeard, a Farmer General, with many others, being strongly suspected, were seized and imprisoned some nights ago.

A decree of the utmost importance has passed the Assembly nearly in these terms:—

" Toutes Convocations par ordre est contraire aux precedents " Decrets de l'Assemblée Nationale et il sera surcis a toute Convo- " cation d'Etats jusqu'a ce que l'Assemblée Nationale ait determiné " la Mode des Convocations dont elle s'occupe presentement ". The blow is levelled chiefly at the States of Dauphiné which are convened for the 2nd of next month: the true cause is unknown as yet, but is presumed to be in the intention to recall their Deputies as that Province, it is said, is highly displeased at the king's and

National Assembly's having been obliged to fix their residence at Paris, where they are at the mercy of a numerous and outrageous Populace. The consequences of this Resolution of the Assembly it is feared will be serious, and a civil war is talked of as infallible, if matters do not go on better than they do in the Provinces in general, which are much discontented. At Toulouse, the Nobility and the Parliament met and passed some strong Resolutions, the chief of which were, to restore the Laws to force and the King to his power and *liberty*, as they expressed themselves.

Information was received yesterday, My Lord, in the National Assembly from *Vernon*, in Normandy, that a Gentleman who had been commissioned from hence to purchase grain for the Capital had been hanged by the populace there. A courier was instantly dispatched to that town with orders to put the Martial Law into execution against the rioters but the event is not yet known here. . . . . .

47. Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds.
6th Nov. 1789.

I have had the honor to receive your Grace's Dispatches Nos. 11 and 12 and agreable to instructions given me in the former, I have commenced my dispatch on this day instead of Thursday, and shall continue so to do in future.

In regard to the latter number which relates to His Serene Highness, the Duke of Orleans, I must assure your Grace that I have every reason to believe that his Commission to England was a pretended one, and that no precise instructions on any head were given to the Duke by his Most Christian Majesty : and so far from any degree of weight being given to the reports which the Duke may from time to time transmit to this country, I do believe that there is not the smallest share of confidence reposed in him, either by the King, his Sovereign, the National Assembly or any part of the City of Paris, but on the contrary, that he is considered in a contemptuous light by all, as his friends even do not come forward to the support of his character which is daily attacked. I can therefore, My Lord, consider his departure only as an exile,

notwithstanding the reports lately spread here of his speedy return, and that his absence was judged expedient by the Court so far only as it was prudent at this moment not to proceed in rigour against him, but on the contrary in cautious policy even to cover his retreat, and thus avoid any measure which might revive the disorders which have lately afflicted this Capital, or expose the Royal Family to insult from the people. I shall here, My Lord, quote words which I have good reason to believe dropped from Mons. de La Fayette in talking of the Duke. *Si j'avois eu des preuves plus certaines il ne tenoit qu'a moi de lui faire trancher la Tête.* Yet, My Lord, all is conjecture still with regard to this extraordinary Mission, and people are as anxious here to know the truth, and are as ignorant perhaps of the real causes of his absence from this Country, as they may be in England.

With respect to other matters here, My Lord, they by no means mend, but wear a worse aspect than ever and people seem now as if prepared for the worst : They are in general extremely dejected and the most timorous talk now as if their patience was worn out by their fears, and were desirous the storm which impends their heads would burst and over-whelm them, or relieve them from their distresses and anxiety of mind. A scarcity of bread was felt yesterday, and it was feared the Fauxbourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau would rise last night ; the marks of fear were in consequence evidently traced on every countenance at Court, and the Queen, turning to a Lady who sat near her at cards, in a low voice expressed her dread at what might happen, and observed that to-morrow was the sixth of the month, alluding to what passed the 6th of last month when the Royal Family was obliged to quit Versailles.—

Nothing serious however has yet taken place in those quarters of the town, as since the scarcity which we experience of bread, precautions have been used, and the Guards and Patrols are everywhere doubled.

The great question *sur les Biens ecclesiactiques*, My Lord, is decided against the Clergy, as the *Arrêté* of the Assembly on that point has not yet appeared in the prints which I transmit to your

Grace, I have transcribed it and annexed it hereto. The joy and triumph of the people on the defeat of the Clergy is not to be expressed, during all the debates on that important question they had assembled in prodigious numbers round the Assembly, and had the Question been decided otherwise, it is supposed that the mob would have destroyed every ecclesiastic belonging to that House; as it is, the person of a Clergyman is not secure from violence, and they can not appear in the streets but in disguise. This aversion to their Priests, it is justly supposed will in the course of time produce as great a revolution in religious, as has been experienced in, civil matters.

The National Assembly, My Lord, has also borne a fatal blow to the Parliaments of this Kingdom, as your Grace will see by the last *Declaration du Roy* which is with the other prints herewith enclosed. The suspension of the parliaments is considered as a prudent measure at this moment and may be of good effect in preventing a civil war which, the continual remonstrance that might be expected from those Courts, and their great influence in some Provinces might have produced.

These, My Lord, are the principal and most essential points that have come of late before the Assembly. The abolition of noble Titles and the extinction of orders from the St. Esprit down to the Croix de St. Louis, it is said, are to come on next; birth, fortune and favour are to lose all influence and every man from the meanest station in life is to rise to the highest honors in the State if he has merit sufficient to convey him to them. Such, My Lord, is the total subversion of all things in this country, and so general is the disgust that I can conceive that nothing but a bloody Civil War can ever possibly restore matters to any degree of order.

It would be endless for me to relate and tedious to your Grace to read the continual acts of violence that are still exercised every where. All Discipline among the Troops is at an end, desertion is encouraged and remains unpunished, and there have been several instances of towns refusing admittances to the King's Troops which had received orders from Government to change their quarters.

The Baron de Besenval who has been so long confined at Brie-

Comte-Robert is ordered to Paris to take his trial at the Chatelêt, which is directed by the National Assembly to take cognizance of the crime of *Lézé Nation* until a proper tribunal is appointed by them to examine cases of that nature.

The Prince de Lambesc, who is now in Italy, is also impeached for *Lézé-Nation*, altho' they can only accuse him of cutting down a man with his hanger, in the Thuilleries in the affair of the 12th July last, who had seized the bridle of his horse and endeavoured to dismount him. The man is recovered of his wound, but it is believed that the Prince will be hanged in effigy and be thus banished his native Country for life.

It is said, My Lord, that Mons. Necker and the *Comité des Finances* are agreed in the expediency of converting the *Caisse d'Escompte* into a *Caisse Nationale*, but if anything of this nature does take place soon, your Grace may depend upon my giving the fullest information I can obtain on the subject.....

48. Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds.

28th Dec. 1789.

I take the liberty of troubling your Grace with a few lines this day to communicate a circumstance, which altho' seemingly simple in itself, does not fail of being much talked of here, and which by some is considered in a serious, by others in a more frivolous, light and by many people in a most flattering point of view. It is as follows :

The Marquis de Farras having been arrested on Thursday evening last, accused of a conspiracy against the life of Mons. de la Fayette and the Mayor of Paris, a printed paper soon after appeared and was hawked about the streets in which the name of Monsieur the King's Brother was atrociously committed as being of intelligence with Mons. de Farras in the pretended plot. Upon this His Royal Highness thought proper on Saturday evening last to betake himself to the Hôtel de Ville and there make a public declaration of his innocence, which he did in the terms as are hereto annexed. This, My Lord, is the whole of that affair which

has made so much talk here, and which many people do not scruple to say was a snare intentional laid for Monsieur to declare his way of thinking and finally to destroy the hopes of the *Aristocrates* who might otherwise, while Monsieur appeared neuter, have availed themselves of his name to give strength to their party.

DESPATCHES FROM PARIS

JAN.-JUNE 1790,

1790

1. FITZ-GERALD TO THE DUKE OF LEEDS.
1st Jan. 1790.

I have had the honor to receive your Grace's Dispatch No. 14 to which I shall pay every attention, and will, without loss of time, make the necessary representations to Government here on the important matter contained in it.

As the subject of Finance seems principally to occupy the attention of people here at present, I may remind your Grace that I had the honor of observing to you some time ago that the patriotic contribution would be but a feeble Ressource and never produce a sum adequate to M. Necker's expectations, and I can now add that the event has justified the assertion. By a decree of the National Assembly of Oct. 6th '89 the public Registers appointed to receive the signatures of the patriotic subscribers were to be closed the last day of December, and the sums subscribed were to be paid into the Treasury at three different payments, viz, on the first day of April, in the three subsequent years, but such has been the reluctance discovered by the people of property throughout the Nation to contribute a fourth or indeed any part of their Revenue towards the support of Government, that the National Assembly have resolved this week that the publick Registers throughout the Kingdom should be kept open for two months more, at the expiration of which term, the names of the subscribers are to be published, with an account of the sums respectively contributed and the Municipalities are empowered *d'appeller tous ceux qui seront en Retard.*

M. Necker in his memorial has estimated the probable amount

of the patriotic contribution at 160 millions of Livres and has anticipated the receipts by borrowing 60 millions of the *Caisse d'Escompte* on account, but your Grace will form an idea of that Ministers' disappointment when I assure you that I have good authority for asserting that the totality of the sums subscribed throughout the Kingdom do not amount at present to 18 millions, and I do not believe that, without compulsory means, the patriotic Contribution Fund will never be very productive, and, according to the present doctrines, such measures, even for the promotion of the publick good, would be deemed incompatible with the Principles of the Revolution. I may here mention, My Lord, the extraordinary Resolution of the National Assembly on Tuesday evening last. They refused accepting a gift of 900,000 Livres which were offered to the state by certain members of the Republic of Geneva, lest it should furnish them hereafter with a pretext of demanding the assistance of this Country in support of the Aristocratical Party in that Republic.

In addition to what I mentioned on Monday last concerning the *Marquis de Farras*, My Lord, I may observe that he was not only accused of conspiracy against the life of Mons. de La Fayette and M. Bailli, but of having formed the plan of taking possession of the Thuilleries and of conveying the King to Peronne; it is further said that he had engaged 30,000 men in his interests who were to have assisted him in the executions of his mad projects. Whether this Conspiracy be real or fictitious, it has caused great alarm to the Parisians, and *Mons. de Farras* with his Wife, *Mme de Farras*, a German Lady of high distinction, and other agents in this plot are now confined in the *Abbaye de St. Germain* Prison, where they wait their trial. Excepting these pretended plots and conspiracies, in which I do believe there is litterally nothing, My Lord, the Capital is in every respect perfectly tranquil.

Mons. d'Albert de Rioms who is arrived here from Toulon has offered himself at the Bar of the National Assembly and expressed his wish to be heard in vindication of his conduct which several members have unjustly attacked, but party spirit has discovered itself in the National Assembly with much virulence on the occa-

sion, and he has never been able to obtain a hearing, and those who attempt to defend the cause of that worthy officer, especially Mons. de Malouet, his Friend, and a man of distinguished merit and character meet with the most clamorous opposition. I herewith enclose, My Lord, Mons. Malouet's *opinion* on that affair.

This day, being the first of the year, the foreign ministers, My Lord, all attended at Court instead of yesterday as usual. The Procession of the *Cordon Bleu* and other various ceremonies on the occasion detained us later than usual, which I trust, My Lord, will in some measure apologize for the hurry I have been obliged to employ in the dispatch.....

2. Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds. 15 Jan. 1790.

The Deliberations of the National Assembly this week have been chiefly confined to the mode of punishment to be inflicted on the *Chambre des Vacations du Parlement de Rennes*, whose members, as your Grace will see in the sentence passed upon them, which is given at length in the *Gazette Nationale*, are pronounced incapable of holding any civil office until such time as all the Members in their *collective* capacity shall petition the National Assembly to be admitted to take the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to the new Constitution.

I should not be justified in truth, My Lord, was I to say that the same tranquillity reigns here at this moment as we have lately enjoyed. All last week, each day, I may almost say, convinces us of the contrary and occasions much alarm. The inveteracy of Party has risen to an enormous pitch and the aristocratical Party most weak, and consequently most imprudent, is reduced to reek revenge in the poor means of abuse and bitter language, which ends in duels and tends only to destroy all harmony and render the triumph of the Popular Party more compleat, who being become insolent in their successes, seek every means to mortify and humble the others. Duels have of late been extremely frequent and some days ago the *Duc d'Aiguilla*, a gentleman of violent republican principles was engaged for the second time in an affair

of honor, with a *Monsieur de Médarri* whom he wounded, after having declined a challenge which was offered him by the *Abbé Maury*, in the National Assembly where the Duke, in his capacity of Secretary endeavoured to prevent him from speaking in his turn. The Abbé told him that he would fight him either with sword or pistol, and that he feared him neither as a man or as a woman, alluding by that to the affair of Versailles in October last, where it is said, and generally believed, that the Duke was disguised as a *Poissarde* and headed those women who broke into the Queen's apartment from which she so happily escaped in time.

I mention these circumstances, My Lord, to give your Grace an idea of the temper that prevails among the better classes of People, before I come to that which actuates the mass of the people, and which is more dangerous and important in its consequences.

On Friday last the Labourers employed in the King's Gardens at Versailles assembled with many others in a tumultuous manner in the Market-Place, and insisted on a diminution in the price of Bread, but the tumult was appeased by the shew of arms and the price of Bread was continued at its former rate of 3 Sols pr. Pound; The spirit of insurrection however seemed contagious as the day following the Fauxbourg St. Antoine here rose and expressed much discontent on the same grounds and on Sunday Morning last they surrounded the *Hôtel de Ville* and threatened violent means if their Request of a Diminution in the price of Bread was not complyed with: Mons. de la Fayette harangued them for some time, and with many promisses that the city would exert its utmost to relieve their necessities, he appeased them and they retired, but it is difficult to say how long these poor people will remain satisfied with these assurances as the spirit of discontent is roused and indeed seems manifest throughout Paris: the popular frenzy was at one time also unfortunately directed against the *Baron de Bezenval*; his head was called for by the pressing crowd at the Châtelet some evenings ago, who endeavoured to force the Guard, crying out at the same time, *La Garde à la Lanterne!* but the Guard remained steady and a reinforcement arriving in time the mob was dispersed.

Mons. de Bezenval's innocence is so clear that he must necessarily be acquitted, altho' the greatest danger will attend his enlargement both in respect to his own person and the Judges who acquit him. The fate of Mons. de Farras it is generally believed will be more decisive, the evidence given by Mons. de St. Priest against him will convict him of the crime of *Lézé Nation* and probably prove his ruin : It appears that that Minister was accosted in August last in the Gallery at Versailles by a gentleman unknown to him, who informed him that he was willing to sacrifice his life to extricate the King from his state of dependency and that he would seek an opportunity of destroying *Mons. de la Fayette* and *Mons. Bailli* if he, the Minister, would supply him with 1200 horses to mount 1200 men whom he had at his entire disposal.

Mons. de St. Priest could not listen to such a scheme but desiring to know his Name, the person answered that he was *M. de Farras.* The most extraordinary occurrence of this week, My Lord, and which baffles all conjecture as to the real cause and object of it, happened on Tuesday last. Between two and three hundred of the Gardes Nationales *Soldées* assembled in the *Champs Elizées* between 12 and one o'clock that day armed with pistols and swords, with intention, it is said to demand an encrease of pay. About the same hour Mons. de la Fayette at the Head of several detachments of Militia, Horse and Foot marched out and having surrounded the Champs Elizés most of the Mutineers were seized, stripped of their Regimentals and conducted to prison. Their fate will be determined by a Court Martial which is to be held this day. Your Grace will agree with me in thinking it not a little extraordinary that three hundred men who had secret designs to execute should at broad day awkwardly suffer themselves to be surprised in this manner without having received any previous notice of the large force that was coming against them, altho' it was known in ye morning that Mons. de la Fayette intended to assemble many troops in the *Champs Elizés* that Day, altho' the reasons indeed were not accounted for.

I have nothing interesting to add now, My Lord, but in my next will hope to collect some intelligence with regard to the Finances

of the Country, which topic has not of late come forward, altho' it is a most interesting and critical one. —

I enclose several Papers to your Grace, and among others the *Adresse aux Provinces* which seems to be the most faithful picture of the times I have yet seen. I also transmit M. Necker's *Compte General des Revenues* etc. given in by him to the Comité des Finances and which only appeared in print yesterday. That Minister is indisposed, My Lord, and not thought to be in a favourable way by any means.....

3. Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds.
1 Feb. 1790.

I take the liberty of troubling Your Grace with a few lines by this day's post to communicate a circumstance which took place on Friday last, but too late in the day for me to communicate it to your Grace by that day's Dispatch.

The Baron de Besenval, whose Trial commenced at 12 o'clock and lasted till eight in the evening was honorably acquitted and immediately enlarged from confinement. *Mons. Barentin*, *le Cte. de Puységur*, *le Maréchal de Broglie* and the *Marquis d'Autichamp* were also acquitted and are now at liberty to return to this country if they think proper.

There is no greater proof in my opinion, My Lord, of the peaceable disposition of the Capital, and of the confidence of the people in the virtues of their Magistrates than the tranquillity which reigned when the *Baron de Besenval* was set at liberty. He was suffered to return to his house here and now goes about Paris without the least molestation or interruption on the part of those very people who some weeks ago endeavoured to force his prison and called for his head.

It is generally said and believed, My Lord, that H.M.C. Majesty intends going down to the National Assembly in the course of this week with a view to destroy all the malicious reports spread throughout the Nation respecting his Situation here and the vulgar notion of his being obliged, against his will, to sanction all the Decrees of the Assembly, and likewise to declare himself openly,

to the Nation at large, to be the true friend and constant support of the Revolution and the Representatives of the People.

4. FITZ-GERALD TO THE DUKE OF LEEDS.
5 Feb 1790.

I had the honour to inform your Grace on Monday last by post that it was generally believed here that H.M.C. Majesty intended going down to the National Assembly in the course of the week. That event, for such indeed it may be termed, accordingly took place yesterday : about eleven o'clock a message was received in the Assembly from His Majesty to acquaint them of his intention, and that He would appear about twelve without ceremony.— The applause on this occasion was very great and all the exulting joy of triumph was manifested on that side of the house which is occupied by the popular Party. The Aristocratical Party remained in sullen silence and seemed deeply hurt by this step on the part of the King which they consider'd as their final blow, as indeed it is.

A Deputation from the Assembly was sent to meet the King and a little after 12 o'clock His Majesty made his appearance escorted only by those gentlemen and others of His Household, who attend him in his usual walks in the Thuilleries.

A Chair of State was fixed in the room of that of the President, whose chair was placed on a level with it at the King's right hand. These arrangements took place according to the directions of the Assembly and I was not a little surprised, My Lord, to hear the President say that, as probably his Majesty would not sit down but stand while He read his Discourse, all contestation with respect to etiquette would be avoided ; I confess I did not rightly understand what He meant, but the expression roused my surprise as it did the indignation of the Aristocratical Side of the Assembly from whence a cry of *Quelle Etiquette ! Quelle Etiquette ! Qu'est-ce-que ça veut donc dire ?* instantly proceeded.—All the Members rose when His Majesty entered and he was received with loud Acclamations and applause of hands. Having read his Speech standing and the President having made a short reply in

compliment to his Majesty, He retired on foot, as He came, through the Gardens. I have the honor to enclose herewith to your Grace four copies of his H.M.C. Majesty's Speech.

An address of thanks was afterwards moved but retarded to give room to a ceremony, which seemed to originate in the warmth of patriotism but which, most probably, was suggested in policy and with deeper views. It was proposed and by the Majority agreed to, that every Member should, before he quitted the Assembly that day, take the Civic Oath and swear fidelity to the Nation, the Law and the King, and to support the New Constitution, such as it is decreed by the Assembly and sanctioned by the King, to the extent of his power. However averse many were to swear fidelity to a Constitution not yet formed, yet all were forced to it as none, who at the time were absent, were to be admitted into the Assembly again unless they took the oath. The President first pronounced the oath from the *Tribune*, and every member of the House successively followed him, as his name was called, and stretching out his hand pronounced the words *Je le jure*. But neither this oath of Union and Attachment to the great Cause or His Majesty's Speech which so strongly recommends both, will ensure either between the two parties, but tend rather to widen the breach between them and create more ill-blood. These same measures, however, considered in another point of view, may produce a good effect in the generality of the Nation, and inspire that confidence which is so much wanting to render the Revolution effective, and without which the new Constitution may prove abortive, for now the King having pledged himself to support the Constitution, and made known his sentiments respecting the Revolution in so formal a manner, together with this shew of Union in the National Assembly, lost Credit may revive, and purchasers for the Crown and Church Lands may come forward with advantageous offers, and on their successful alienation very much, perhaps all, depends. This seems to be the great object in view with the National Assembly when they pointed out that measure to H.M.C. Majesty and perhaps the King and his Ministers adopted it the more readily as they considered it as the surest means of ensuring the confidence

of the Assembly, and thereby inducing them to come to some determinations respecting the executive power which has been so long withheld and to this day remains suspended and unentered upon.

Excepting the detail of yesterday's proceedings, My Lord, and the conduct of the *Chambre des Vacations de Rennes* which has imitated the late one in refusing to register the Decrees of the National Assembly and the measures taken by the Assembly on the occasion, the whole given at large in the *Gazette Nationale*, this week affords nothing new here. From the Provinces however, we have repeated accounts of violences committed on the part of the Peasantry against the Gentry and of endless contestations, not only between the troops and the *Milice Bourgeoise*, but between the troops and their own officers ; a very singular affair of this Nature and which is fully authenticated, took place some time ago at *Bethune*. The Regt. of Vivarais having received orders to quit that town and march to *Verdun* positively refused to obey altho' the Colonel read the orders which he had received from the King to that purpose to the Regt. when drawn up on Parade. The Colonel then proposed to all those who were faithful to their King and their oaths to follow him to Verdun, upon which all the officers, Serjeants and Corporals and about 100 Privates joined him and marched out of the Town of Bethune with their Colours, but they were soon after pursued, the Colours taken from them and brought back to Bethune by the Mutineers. The King has sent new Colours to those who remained faithful to his service at Verdun and the remaining part of the Regiment to the number of 600 men was broke, and now wanders through the Country without a leader and without subsistance ; having plundered the inhabitants of *Bethune* they were driven out of the Town by the *Milice Nationale*, they then directed their marc'h towards *Douay*, but that Town having shut its gates against them, it is supposed that they have marched into Flanders to offer their services to the patriots.

5. Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds.
Feb 19th 1790.

It is not within the reach of conjecture to fix the period when this Country will see an end to her calamities or enjoy the benefits of the promised Constitution. Each Day seems to aggravate the sufferings and multiply the complaints of the people. Commerce and manufactures are fallen to the lowest ebb and those who once subsisted by industry now seek a livelihood in rapine and disorder. These evils seem rather to encrease than diminish in the Provinces, and the National Assembly seems disposed rather to connive at all excesses than endanger their liberty by suffering the interference of the Military in curbing them. The proceedings of the Assembly on Tuesday last will justify this idea and your Grace will see with surprise the luke-warm measures they used in an affair of very serious consequences. Notwithstanding the circumstantial detail which was officially communicated to the Assembly by the *Garde des Sceaux* of the various cruelties perpetrated in different provinces, especially at Beziers, where five officers of the Customs were hanged, several others sadly mutilated and many of their wives and children barbarously used by the populace, the motion made by a M. Foucaut, Deputy from one of those Provinces where they are most exposed, to order the Military immediately to interfere in similar cases, was negatived by a great Majority, and to this day they have not determined on measures for restoring peace and good order. Mons. Chapelier, indeed, read a *Projet de Loi* yesterday for the suppression of Riots, which will be discussed this day in the Assembly, and will probably pass, as that gentleman has much weight there. It is not yet printed, but your Grace will see the purport of it in the *Gazette Nationale* of this day. It seems that in case of neglect or refusal on the part of the civil Magistrates to act, four or more of the most respectable inhabitants of a place are to be empowered to apply for assistance to the Military Power, and the civil officers are to be responsible for all consequences.

The Army will remain in its present state of inaction until the National Assembly has invested the King with the executive power,

but they have not yet entered on that important branch of the Constitution, nor on the formation of civil and criminal Courts of judicature, so that the duration of this *Legislature* will be prolonged to an indefinite period. A motion made on Wednesday last by *Mons. de Cazalès* to limit its duration, gave rise to the most violent and tumultuous debate, which was followed by an oath pronounced by the majority to remain indissolutly united until the Constitution was completed in all its parts. They seem much enamoured with their own importance and your Grace will believe that I speak only of mean and needy men, when I assure you that I imagine that the mean object of lucrative interest and the enjoyment of 18 Livres a day, which each member is paid, was no trifling inducement with many to seek and give their vote for a Prolongation of the Session.

A Deputation from several of the most opulent and trading Towns in France, My Lord, have presented a Petition to the National Assembly deprecating the losses that would be sustained by the commercial part of the Kingdom, and praying them not to pay attention to the complaints of those who, from a mistaken zeal for Humanity, are desirous of abolishing the Slave Trade. They represented this trade as absolutely necessary to the preservation of their Colonies, and lay much stress on the great advantages that would derive from a partial abolition to England, which they pretend is too well acquainted with her colonial interests to be sincerely anxious for a like abolition on her part.

It is remarkable, My Lord, that notwithstanding the confusion of orders introduced into the State, that two thirds of the Mayors elected in the new formed Corporations or *Municipalités* are of noble Families, which proves that the Nobility, contrary to the intentions of the National Assembly, have not lost all influence with the people. A Clergy-man of noble birth also was chosen Mayor some time ago, and thus unites in himself the ecclesiastical and civil powers of his Corporation.

I am sorry to inform your Grace that *Mons. de Farras* was hanged this day as I believe that unfortunate man to have been by no means deserving of so severe a fate, all his actions in life have

proved the disordered state of his mind, always conceiving but ever incapable of effecting wild projects, he merited confinement, but the people of Paris required his blood and he has fallen an innocent victim.

I have enclosed herewith three copies of the last Sentence pronounced upon him, and three copies also of the *Garde des Sceaux Memoire* which I have alluded to in the former part of this Dispatch.

P.S. I have this instant been informed, My Lord, that Mons. de Farras was not executed so late as six o'clock. He was carried to the place of Execution, but was from thence conveyed into the *Hotel de Ville* and the departure of the messenger prevents me from communicating the result of this unexpected respite which I have not yet been able to learn the reasons of.

6. Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds.
20 Feb. 1790.

The Marquis de Farras who was to have been hanged yesterday at three o'clock was not, at his own request, executed 'till between eight and nine. When taken into the *Hotel de Ville*, as I mentioned in yesterday's Dispatch, he committed the whole of his unfortunate affair and some other particulars to paper, and then desired to be conducted to the place of Execution, where he died with every mark of manly steadiness, and declaring his innocence to the last moment. The Populace exulted much in his fall, and some thousands of Militia were under arms to keep them in awe.

7. Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds.
26 Feb, 1790.

On Saturday last I had the honour of giving your Grace notice of the Marquis de Farras's Execution, which took place the preceding evening. The steady and courageous manner in which that unfortunate man met his too severe fate has done honor to his memory and has made the most powerful impressions on the minds of all here, and the same people even who so lately called

for his blood, now express their compassion for him, and considering him as an innocent victim sacrificed to fear and revenge, strongly deprecate the foul conduct of his Judges, whom they consider as the mean instruments of Mons. de la Fayette's will. It is not improbable, My Lord, that Mons. de Farras's unhappy end may prove more injurious to that Commandant's reputation and popularity than one act of his during his existance could possibly have affected. I herewith enclose to your Grace three authentic copies in print of Mons. de Farras's *Testament de Mort* or dying speech, which he dictated at the *Hotel de Ville* during the interval that elapsed between the hour appointed for his Execution, and that in which it took place, and strongly recommend to your Grace's perusal as a piece of a most curious nature.

I also enclose three copies of his Trial.

The popular commotions which still subsist in many Provinces have principally occupied the attention of the National Assembly this week, and we have on this occasion again witnessed the feeble struggles of the friends of the old system of Government to recover their lost preponderance.

It was strongly recommended as the only remedy against the various disorders complained of in the Provinces to grant an unlimitted confidence in the discretionary power of His Majesty, but these efforts proved totally unsuccessful and only occasioned much indecent heat and violence in the Assembly, where the executive power was condemned to a state of Inaction 'till the Constitution is fully completed and the active part of the Police is conferred exclusively on the different Corporations which, conjointly with the National militia, are constituted the sole Guardians of the public peace whilst the Army is to act only against a foreign enemy.

It would be an endless task and tedious to your Grace were I to enumerate the various events that daily occur in different parts of the Kingdom. The object, plunder and rapine, is the same everywhere and they only differ in the various degrees of violence and cruelty which attend them. Brittany, it may be almost said, is in a state of civil war, but however serious the evils felt at home may be, yet the public attention at this moment seems more engrossed

by those which, it is said, have happened in the more distant parts of the Empire. St. Domingo and Martinico, it is possitively believed here, have refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the National Assembly and, until such time as His Most Christian Majesty is reinstated in the plenitude of his power, they have declared themselves to be independent and open'd their Ports to all Nations. Such, My Lord, is the common report at present which your Grace may believe does not fail likewise of giving the English the merit on this occasion, as upon every other since the Revolution, of aiding and fomenting the troubles. It appears that the Negroes are perfectly quiet and satisfied, but with respect to these matters, on which your Grace will pardon me for entertaining you so far with mere report, we shall know more on Monday next, as Mons. de La Luzerne has given notice to the President of the National Assembly that he will shortly communicate some very important news, which he has just received from the Islands, but as the papers which contain it are voluminous, he requests three days may be allowed him to make his report on them. Should anything of serious importance to us have taken place, I conceive your Grace will not disapprove of my dispatching a messenger express to you on the occasion, but I shall not take this step unnecessarily.

The rapid succession of one evil on the other seems to do away with the impression made by the first and while this Country has daily to lament the excesses committed at home, and is at this instant in the greatest alarm for her possessions abroad, it seems to have lost sight of the foe nearest her door, I mean the disorder which reigns in her Finances. No effectual means have yet been devised to encrease the quantity of Specie in circulation, and no time is yet fixed for the evacuation of religious Houses etc. in order to expose them to sale; these circumstances etc., the scarcity of purchasers, likely to come forward seem to threaten the *Caisse d'Escompte* with many difficulties, the first of July next when it has engaged to pay at sight, and Government with much embarrassment in reimburseing the Caisse d'Escompte the 1 Jan. 1791.

The last accounts received here, My Lord, of the Emperor were of the very worst kind and threatened his speedy dissolution.

8. Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds.
19 March 1790.

It was imagined at one time and people flattered themselves that the creation of the *Assignats* was the most sure means of relief and of reviving public credit in this Country, but consistantly with the instability of the times, that Measure has proved unsuccessful and the National Assembly has this week adopted, with few modifications, Monsr. Bailly's new Proposition. But if the happy speculations on this head should prove visionary likewise, and the *Effets Municipaux* be regarded with the same degree of suspicion as the *Assignats*, the National Assembly it seems is determined to supply the want of publick spirit by the adoption of coercive measures in rigorously exacting the *Quart Patriotique* which hitherto as people were left to the guidance of their generosity and patriotism has come in but very slowly indeed and proved very unproductive.

The fears of the Public augment daily and the complaints here are very general at the Encrease of discount on the *Billets de la Caisse d'Escompte* which is now raised from four to five per ct. and this commerce which is carried on by individuals of every description who have ready cash, not excepting Bankers, is connived at, through necessity, by the National Assembly altho' a direct violation of one of its Decrees.

It is worthy of remark, My Lord, that in the *Club des Jacobins* which is composed of members of the National Assembly, all of the democratic Party, who meet to concert together and understand each other previous to any important discussion in the Assembly, that a member some days ago proposed the recall of Mons. de Calonne to the Head of the Treasury and that, altho' the proposition was not warmly received, at the moment, yet it was not shrunk from, nor is it by any means unlikely that the idea may, in time, ripen in his favor, especially as the abilities of his great adversary have now fallen so low in the esteem of the public.—

What passed yesterday in the National Assembly is a convincing proof that Minister is no more the man he was and in support of this idea I refer your Grace to this day's *Gazette Nationale* for the

Abbé Maury's Speech in which he makes the most direct attack on him and which was not only attentively listened to but excessively applauded from every side of the House. It is now believed with still more confidence that Mons. Necker will resign upon his going to the Waters at *Vichy*, and his return here seems not to be reckoned upon by any.

Mons. Vandernoote has made a second application to His Most Christian Majesty and the National Assembly which has met with a similar reception with the former, the letters having been returned unopened ; but it may not be improper to remark that as soon as the President had communicated to the Assembly Monsr. de Montmorin's note on the subject, Monsr. de la Fayette rose and expressed a wish that they would resolve, that as the Congress in the Low Countries could not be considered, as at present constituted, to be the true and legal representation of the People, that Assembly could not pay any attention to the letters addressed to it by M. Vandernoote : The motion however was got rid of by the order of the day and no further steps were taken in that affair.

I have nothing further of importance to communicate to your Grace by this day's Dispatch.

The Court goes into Mourning this day for two months for his late Imperial Majesty.

9. Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds.
9 April 1790.

On Friday last I had the honor to observe to your Grace that Monsr. de Maillebois, having been suspected of forming a project of Counter-Revolution in this Country, had retired precipitately to Breda, but I believe I may now offer the present as the most faithful statement that has been given yet of that supposed conspiracy.—

Mons. de Grandmaison, Secretary to the Comte de Maillebois, having found among his papers a plan for dissolving the National Assembly, of reducing the Town of Paris by famine, and of re-establishing the old Government, was, from excessive timidity apprehensive of being himself involved in the consequences of a

discovery. He therefore suddenly quitted Mons. de Maillebois and upon arriving at Paris wrote to him to signify his intention to leave his service altogether.—Mons. de Maillebois, suspecting some treacherous design in his Secretary, and fearing a surprise immediately retired from *Chateau de Thury* which belongs to Madme. de Cassini to *Breda*. In the mean time, the Secretary alarmed and tormented with the secret which he possessed, communicated himself to his friends and the story having circulated, the *Comité des Recherches* ordered him before them and he there declared that he had seen among the papers of Mons. de Maillebois a Plan of a Counter Revolution which was to have been executed by the united forces of Spain, Sardinia, and Naples. Report says likewise that this plan was communicated to the Comte d'Artois but, fortunately for that Prince, it has taken a favorable turn and the Public seem to have adopted the idea that he rejected the proposition with the utmost indignation. This, My Lord, seems to be the whole of an affair which I am induced to believe will die away, as the Public seems tired of those repeated histories of plots and conspiracies which they begin to consider now as vague and vexatious.

Indeed upon the whole, My Lord, it seems that people are becoming more reasonable and that their calamities have taught them patience and resignation, for it is beyond a doubt that, altho' matters do not in reality mend, yet they do in appearance, and we now enjoy a state of tranquillity which promises to be more lasting than we could have flattered ourselves with some time ago : perhaps this good humour may be attributed to the late convention for the purchase of the Church Lands as, since that period, it is evident that the public anxiety has diminished and confidence has derived strength from the late Declarations of several Towns to imitate the example of the Capital. The Cities of *Angers* and *Nantes* have already subscribed for church property to the amount of 22 millions and should the great commercial Towns such as Bordeaux, Marseille and Lyons, be actuated by a similar spirit the remaining 200 millions of Church Property will be entirely disposed of. The National Assembly besides, in attending carefully to the peti-

tions of the mercantile Towns and by granting them the liberty of a free trade to India, has adopted the surest means of gaining many friends to the Revolution. No means in short are spared and nothing is left undone which can flatter the people at large and future consequences are not considered while present purposes are to be answered.

The National Assembly is now busily engaged, My Lord, in the formation of the judicial power, and they seem to hesitate much on the adoption of that great and most essential point, namely the Trial by Jury, in its utmost latitude, which, it is thought, will be adopted, not in civil but in criminal cases only. Mons. de Lamette in the Debates on this subject exhorted the Assembly to beware of the aristocracy of the long robe and indeed in an Assembly, where there are between two and three hundred Men of the Law, it may be but prudent for people to be on their guard against their insinuating arts and superior talents in the discussion and organization of a point in the Constitution which so nearly concerns their interests.

I have the honor to transmit herewith to your Grace three printed copies of the famous *Livre Rouge* which has been so much talked of and shall conclude this Dispatch, which I could have wished had been more interesting for your Grace, with the mention of the riot which took place last night during the Debates in the National Assembly and which originated in Mons. Depresmenil's having whispered in the ear of another Member not to listen to the President, when he spoke, for that he never knew what he was saying. This disrespectful language, which Mons. Depresmenil having spread in the Assembly, it was converted, in a short time into an absolute bear-garden. The Members made use of the most gross and indecent language to each other and the mob, roused by the example, began to pelt them with apples and oranges until the Guard was called in to clear the Galleries. The mob opposed the Guard and many members having been mean enough to espouse their cause and object to this act of severity, they were suffered to remain where they were and matters becoming at length quiet, the affair was arranged by a reprimand to Mons. Depresmenil which is to be inserted in the *Procès Verbal*.

Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds
16th April 1790.

To accelerate the execution of those Measures which alone are capable of diminishing the embarrassments of this Government and to facilitate the currency of the *Assignats* by holding out to the Public some ostensible security, the National Assembly, by a recent decree, has vested in the different departments and districts the sole right of superintending and administering every species of Church Property ; this important Decree, by which also Church Tithes, to reckon from the first of January next, are suppressed for ever and the Clergy to reckon from the first of last January, are henceforth to be paid in money, was combated on various grounds for three successive days with every degree of tumultuous violence, but I must refer your Grace to the *Gazette* of yesterday for that Decree in all its articles and to the preceding papers for the debates on the subject which, no doubt, are very curious and interesting : various circumstances on this occasion having indicated the apprehension of a popular commotion and the very numerous crowds which collected in the gardens of the *Thuilleries*, and all round the National Assembly during Tuesday's sitting, having much alarmed the public peace, it was found necessary to double the Guard and to line all the avenues to the Assembly for the protection of the members, but, notwithstanding these precautions, when the House broke up in the evening the *Vicomte de Mirabeau* and the *Abbé Maury* both, as your Grace may recollect, remarkable for their constant and determined opposition to the popular side of the House, were attacked by the people and would probably have become their victims if the Militia had not interfered and saved them. The Abbé Maury was followed by the populace into the *Rue Ste Anne* where he took refuge in the house of an acquaintance and while the troops protected it from insult, he escaped in the disguise of a soldier of the National Militia ; as your Grace probably may be desirous to know the real cause of the extraordinary restlessness of the people on this occasion, I believe I may attribute it entirely to a meeting which was held at a Convent

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of Capucin Friars by a considerable number, to the amount of 200 I am told, of Nobility and Clergy on Monday the preceding evening and who, after having deliberated till an advanced hour of the night on the business about to come before the House, had formed, it is said, the resolution to quit the National Assembly altogether unless they would declare the Roman Catholic to be the reigning Religion of the Country ; and unless they desisted from the fatal resolution of totally spoiling the Clergy of all their property to protest in form against such gross usurpation and, laying their griefs before the King, humbly to intreat His Majesty to use some means, if possible, to check the National Assembly in its destructive career. It was this meeting therefore that roused the jealousy and fears of the people, My Lord, but the fatal decree has passed according to their wishes and all seems again restored to good order and tranquillity ; but, the Gallican Church is now rased to its foundations and most probably, its great possessions lost to it for ever.

Whilst these great concerns were agitated in the National Assembly, another event of no little importance and which, from its nature, might have been productive of the worst of consequences, and indeed may still, has called the public attention. The seeds of division having been by some means spread between the four Regiments in Garrison at Lisle, namely *Les Regimens du Colonel Général, des Chasseurs de Normandie, de la Couronne et Royal-Vaisseaux* a combat took place between the two former which called themselves Royalists and the two latter which stiled themselves Patriots or *Regimens Nationaux*, in which five or six soldiers were killed, and several others having been wounded the two first, with the Commandant of the Garrison, Monsr. de Livarot, at their head, retired into the Citadel, where that Officer is to remain prisoner, in order to take his trial, it having been said, altho' I believe with the greatest injustice, that he bore a principal part in fomenting the confusion. The National Militia of Lisle observed, as I am informed, a strict neutrality in the affair, but the inhabitants insist on the two aristocratical Regiments quitting the Town immediately.

It is an undoubted fact, My Lord, that the Chatelet has again taken up the affair of Versailles of the 5th and 6th of October last, and the public are in great Expectations now that the mysterious veil, which still covers that most scandalous and treasonable proceeding, will be at last entirely torn away and the authors of it discovered to the eyes of the world. Several Members of the National Assembly are accused, and among the first on the list, I do sincerely lament again to see the name of an illustrious personage.

10. Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds.
23 April 1790.

The exhausted state of the public treasury and the alarming prospects of the dissolution of all Government, which seemed to threaten daily, have at length determined the National Assembly to take a bold and resolute step and to risk its own popularity for the safety of the State by giving its sanction to a paper Currency; a Measure, I may say, abhorred in this Country and which according to the success it meets with may be considered as the signal for the fall or triumph of the new Constitution.

In no period of the Revolution has the spirit of party raged with so great violence as at the present, the friends of the new and the abettors of the old system, impressed with a common sense of the critical importance of the moment, exert their utmost in this struggle and expect to find in the good or ill success of the *Assignats* matter of triumph or disgrace.

Before I speak of the late Resolution of the National Assembly on this subject I must remind your Grace that last Winter a quantity of *Assignats* were delivered to the *Caisse d'Escompte* bearing 5 pr ct. interest in payment of bills and cash advanced at different times to Government.

These *Assignats* were afterwards offered to the public by the Directors in exchange for their own notes, by which means some of them got into circulation, but their number is very inconsiderable and more than three fourths still remain on the hands of the Directors of the *Caisse d'Escompte* who have not been able to

dispose of them. By the Terms of the Agreement these *Assignats* were to have been called in and payed off together with their interests in January 1791 and the following months, it being presumed that the sale of the Church and Crown Lands would then furnish the *Caisse de l'Extraordinaire* with a sufficient sum for the purpose.

Such, My Lord, was the relative situation of Government and the *Caisse d'Escompte* till last week, when Mr. Necker informed the Assembly that the Treasury was nearly exhausted, that the Taxes from a variety of causes were unproductive and that a Loan of about 40 millions from the *Caisse d'Escompte* was absolutely necessary to defray the expenses of Government for the present and ensuing month, but the National Assembly, in its Policy, affecting to be much alarmed at so great and so unexpected a demand, a demand which, it must be observed, the Minister had already mentioned as inevitable in his Memoire of last month, immediately seized the pretext and under the plea of absolute necessity resolved on the creation of *Assignats* to the amount of 400 millions and ordered that they should be received as money throughout the Kingdom, and that, as a sufficient quantity of them was not yet fabricated la *Caisse d'Escompte* should immediately advance to Government Bills to the amount of 20 millions, which, being endorsed by the Receiver of the *Caisse de l'Extraordinaire* and superscribed with the following Words "promise to furnish Assignats," shall be received in payment till such time as Government shall substitute real Assignats in their room.

The Assignats are to bear interest at 3 p. ct. from the 15th of this month and each is to be numbered and the time of payment determined by lot as soon as the *Caisse de l'Extraordinaire* shall have received one Million in money arising from the sale of Church Property. These, My Lord, seem to be the principal outlines of the celebrated decree which establishes a paper currency throughout France, which measure, as I said before, may be attended with very fatal or very happy consequences to this Country and its new Constitution, but if I may hazard an opinion of my own and be allowed to judge from the co-operating efforts of many com-

mercial towns, I conceive it will meet with success; besides I can not think that the National Assembly, ever so jealous of its preponderance and weight would risk the committing of its authority with the Public on mere speculative hope.

I may here observe, My Lord, that the issuing of the *Assignats* has already considerably reduced the price of Discount on the *Billets de la Caisse d'Escompte* which are now discounted for less than four p. ct. but however salutary their tendency may be, the Clergy and aristocratical Party are indefatigable in their endeavours both by writing and speaking to inspire the people with diffidence.

The Provinces, My Lord, seem to be busily engaged in holding their primary Elections etc., and in forming just and equal assessments: but, the late Resolution of the National Assembly which prohibits them from proceeding yet to the formation of a new legislative body is said to give some umbrage, as many had flattered themselves that, as the Powers of the Deputies to the National Assembly were limited to one year and that year was just expiring a new Election must have taken place. The Assembly has however on this, as on a former occasion, declared itself independent of its Constituents and to be an indissoluble Body until such time as it declares the Constitution completed and dissolves itself of its own free good will and pleasure.

The argument used on this occasion was founded on the principle that, as the members were chosen by three distinct orders, and those orders no more existed, the power of dissolving the Assembly died with their extinction.

Mons. de Livarot is arrived at Paris from Lisle, My Lord, to give an account of his conduct and it is thought, with good reason, that he will not find it difficult to exculpate himself from the charge of being a mover of sedition.

The famous *Avocat Linguet* is arrived here, My Lord, and in the Assemblies of Districts which he frequents, holds forth in the most violent language of Republicanism. He dwells much on his abhorrence of despotism which he says the ingratitude of the late Emperor has inspired him with and in a reply which he made to

a person who accused him of having favored the views of that monarch at Bruxelles, he vented himself as I am assured with every degree of fury and passion against Sovereigns in general and concluded with these indecent words "de tous les Souverains de l'Europe Louis 16 est le seul auquel on puisse pardonner d'etre Roi."—

M. Necker I must not forget to observe to your Grace is much better and does not now it seems talk of going to the Waters. I have the honor to enclose herewith to your Grace that Minister's, as well as Mons. de Montmorin's *observations* on the *Livre Rouge* in their own justification.

11. Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds.
30 April 1790.

Various circumstances and events have marked the progress of this last week but so unconnected with each other that I find it a difficult task to class them all so as to produce an interesting Dispatch by this day's Messenger. There has not been time sufficient to judge of the success of the late operation of Finance and its effects are not yet visible: The public grievances have not yet experienced any apparent alleviation, the same evils continue to exist and the same complaints of the great scarcity of specie are heard from every quarter. The *Assignats* meet with violent enemies in the body of the Clergy who seem really driven to despair and seek revenge as it were in moving Heaven and Earth. They have already stirred up the people in many Provinces and the popular discontents seem again to rise to an alarming pitch. Religion serves as the veil to conceal the fury of the Clergy and at Toulouse it seems that the people are much inflamed against the National Assembly in the idea that its deliberations are influenced by the Protestants. The Clergy on these occasions are joined by the Lawyers whose subsistance is now rendered so precarious by the projected Reform of the Courts of Judicature, and these last, I am assured, having, in considerable numbers, taken up arms, entirely overawe the Town and municipal Army of Toulouse. Similar discontents have discovered themselves at Montpellier and

Nismes and in the provinces of Alsace and Artois. In short, My Lord, no artifice is left untried to alarm the fears of the people and the symptoms of a religious war grow fast; but of all the means employed to raise religious strife and dissention, the supposed protest of the Nobility and Clergy which was proposed in the meeting held by them at the Convent of Capucin Friars, as I mentioned in a former Dispatch, may be considered as the most powerful and dangerous as proceeding from so considerable a part of the National Assembly. I say supposed, for tho' the protest is said to circulate in the Provinces with the names of near four hundred Members of the Assembly subscribed to it, no Copies of it have yet appeared here.

Altho' we are not much more at peace here than in the more distants Parts of the Kingdom yet the object of contention is different. The *Châtelet* seems now to have drawn on itself all the clamours and complaints of the people, and in a late denunciation on the part of the *District des Cordeliers* it is accused of favouring the aristocratical Party even where there are evident proofs of guilt, and of rigorously pursuing the favorites of the people on the simple grounds of suspicion, and of not confining its proceedings to the Terms of Indictment which treat exclusively of what passed at Versailles the 6th October, but of extending its enquiries to the events of the preceeding evening and antecedent periods, with the malicious intention of injuring the reputation of the first supporters of the Revolution in the National Assembly. This affair has by degrees been wrought up into serious importance and having been represented to the people, not only as just cause of alarm, but as furnishing proper Grounds for suspending the powers of the *Châtelet* and insisting on the creation of a new Court of High Treason, a Petition has been presented to the National Assembly to that end. In the mean time the People are very tumultuous and loud in their complaints on this score: But these are not the only indications of discord and of the little degree of harmony that subsists here; another circumstance has occurred which may probably end in the dismission of all foreigners from the service of France: a contest took place some days ago between the Swiss

Guards and the Chasseurs of the National Militia in consequence of a duel which was fought between two officers of those corps in which the Chasseur was wounded ; the Chasseurs surrounded the Swiss Barracks and seemed determined to destroy them, but order being restored soon after, matters were seemingly settled between them when the disputes broke out again and two of the Chasseurs having been killed it is supposed that the Swiss Guards will be dismissed the Service and indeed, as they are the only Household Troops that now remain to the King, I should by no means be surprised if that measure was to take place. Their loyalty and steadiness in the late Revolution were sufficient to render them odious here and any pretext for dismissing them will be readily seized.

The Marquis de Bouillé, an officer of high merit and much respected by the Army, My Lord, has, owing to the following circumstance, rendered himself very unpopular with the Town of Metz where he commands. The National Militia of certain Districts in the neighbourhood of Metz having proposed to form a junction in that City and to spend a day in festivity, M. de Bouillé would not suffer them to enter the City armed and they were obliged to subscribe to what they considered as an humiliating condition but with the determined resolution to complain of the supposed insult to the King and National Assembly : a Courier is consequently arrived who has presented a petition from the Town of Metz solliciting his Majesty to recall the Commandant and invest the municipal Officers with the Government of the Town who engage faithfully to discharge its various duties. The Garrison on the other hand has deputed a Colonel of Artillery to pray his Majesty that, in case he should think proper to condescend to the request of the Town, to permit them to acknowledge no other for their Commander in Chief than the Marquis de Bouillé and here the matter remains for the present.

I shall conclude this Dispatch, My Lord, with observing to your Grace that by a recent Resolution of the National Assembly every new President on entering into office is obliged to swear that he neither has or will sign any protest which would imply a censure

on the Decrees of the National Assembly. Monsr. de Virieux, against whom the Resolution was levelled, took the oath upon his being chosen President, but with evident marks of mental reservation, and his explanation not being approved of, he resigned. In the midst of the general noise and confusion which ensued several members declared that they would never submit to that oath and that the Assembly contained 360 who equally disapproved of it. From this circumstance, My Lord, we may presume that the above-mentioned protest has actually gone abroad into the Provinces and is in fact the chief cause of the commotions which prevailed so suddenly.

12. FITZ-GERALD TO THE DUKE OF LEEDS.
7 May 1790.

I could wish that matters were restored to that degree of settled order and tranquillity which might afford me an opportunity of writing to your Grace on subjects of more importance than the daily occurrances here afford me with, for it is with pain that I enumerate the list of excesses that daily take place here and which exhibit this Country in a point of view most contemptible most unbecoming of men and disgraceful to humanity. The violence of party spirit still rages and the most paultry means are used to cross and disturb the one Party in its progress, while, on the other hand, no enormity can deter the other from pursuing its destructive views.—

The Debates in the National Assembly have of late been most noisy and tumultuous and ye same wild spirit of Republicanism bears all before it. These republican principles were on no occasion so evident as on the present important question before the Assembly, whether the King should concur by his approbation in the nomination of the Judges chosen by the People. This question has been agitated with the greatest warmth and acrimony by both sides of the House and the trouble and confusion it occasioned has prevented the Assembly from coming to a final resolution, but it is not to be doubted but that the popular party will succeed on this as on all other occasions of a similar kind

where the power of the Crown is to be diminished. And that the shadow of power may not be left to the King, I believe I may confidently assure your Grace, beforehand, that when the new military Reforms come before the Assembly that His Majesty will be deprived even of the power of nominating the officers of the Army. Indeed, My Lord, I can compare this civil assassination of Royal Prerogative to nothing but to the atrocious excesses committed without the walls of the Assembly on the lives and properties of men, not to talk of the little subordination that reigns among the Troops and the state of warfare in which all ranks of people live one with another, I shall mention those circumstances only as facts which, if they should come indirectly to your Grace's ear, you would scarcely believe to be such but indeed the public papers even are disgraced with these accounts and for the sake of accurateness I shall refer your Grace to the *Gazette Universelle*, a new paper which I send, for the letter which the *Marquis d'Argenteuil* read in the National Assembly with the account of the murders committed by the people in Burgundy on the persons of two very respectable men and to the other papers which I send likewise for the mention made of the assassination of the *Comte de Nully* upon his landing at Corsica. This unfortunate officer had lived with his Regiment many years in Garrison there and had fallen under the displeasure of the People for endeavouring to keep order there when the troubles first broke out and was on that account obliged to quit the country until such time as their fury had subsided, but it seems that the spirit of revenge was foremost in their breast and that they lost no time in spilling the blood they had thursted for in his absence. Another account of a similar but more shocking nature arrived last night from Marseille and of this I send your Grace the printed particulars altho' I can not answer for the authenticity of them as yet, there is every reason however to believe that they are not exaggerated and that *Mons. de Calvet*, Governor of Fort St. John near that City experienced the cruel fate therein described, but these are not circumstances to dwell on and I shall turn to matters less distressing to your Grace's or my own feelings but which, tho' of a different nature, do not diminish

from the mass of sufferings and distress under which this unhappy Country labours. It is true indeed that the creation of paper money has produced a degree of calm in the minds of the People unknown for a long time here but whether the growing confidence can stand the attacks of its numerous opponents is a matter of doubt. New hopes are derived from the Cities of Bordeaux and Marseille having engaged to assist the retail trade by offering to give ready money for *Assignats* without premium and to extend this favor to all those who from the narrowness of circumstances shall feel themselves aggrieved by the forced circulation of paper money, but it must be long before the *Assignats* become of general confidence as every exertion has been used to defeat the measure, a measure which, alone, can alleviate the burthens of the Nation. The City of Toulouse and the neighbouring Provinces, where superstition still reigns were roused by the Clergy as I had already informed your Grace, but it seems that the contagion has not spread and the exertions used in that town to restore peace have obtained the public acknowledgements of the National Assembly.

I have nothing further to trouble your Grace with by this Dispatch which I shall conclude with making mention of words which came from Her Most Christian Majesty and which render her still more amiable than all her sufferings and fortitude hitherto have done.

The Chatelet having sent a Deputation to her to ask for all the information it was in Her Majesty's power to give that Court relative to the affair of Versailles of the 5th and 6th October, Her Majesty replyed,

J'ai tout vû, j'ai tout suî, j'ai tout oublié.

13. FITZ-GERALD TO THE DUKE OF LEEDS.
14 May 1790.

I have had the honor to receive your Grace's Dispatch relative to the differences which have unfortunately arisen between our Court and that of Spain, with directions to explain the whole of that affair to Monsr. de Montmorin without loss of time, to assure that

Minister in the most explicit manner that the preparations now making in England are solely with a view to the situation in which His Majesty finds himself in relation to the Court of Spain and to repeat the assurances of His Majesty's sincere desire to preserve the harmony and good understanding which so happily subsists between England and France.

In consequence therefore of this Dispatch, My Lord, I waited on Monsr. de Montmorin on Wednesday morning last and having communicated the whole of the affair to him, I thought proper, in addition to the conversation which we had together and with a view to conform with more precision to my instructions, to give that Minister a translated extract of your Grace's Dispatch to me on the subject. Monsr. de Montmorin in reply assured me that he accepted and relied on our assurances of Friendship towards this Country and repeated in the King, his Master's name the same wish to preserve happy harmony and good understanding between the two Kingdoms. He further assured me that his Most Christian Majesty saw with concern the differences which had arisen between the two Courts of Great Britain and Spain and that as far as His Majesty's good offices could tend, he should not fail to exert them in the cause of that amicable adjustment which he so sincerely wished to see established between his near allies and his Friends.—So far, my Lord, Monsr. de Montmorin ministerially communicated himself to me, but in the course of the conversation afterwards he expressed his surprise at our precipitance in this affair, and to use his own words, as near as I can recollect them, he said, *Vous vous êtes montrés avec beaucoup d'éclat dans une affaire qui auroit pu s'arranger aisément par une negotiation amicale*, and added that the Spaniards had returned the vessels that had been seized, that it was through the channel of Spain that we came to a knowledge of the seizure, and that this conduct surely denoted nothing hostile towards England. I assured him that it was the sincerest wish of the King, My Master, to terminate the affair by negotiation and that His Majesty's Ambassador was on his way to Spain with that view, but that, even supposing we had been satisfied with the restitution of the ships it was impossible for the King

to listen to the pretended claims of Spain of exclusive Rights of Territory, Commerce and Navigation in the part of the World where the capture took place, or to look on and see that Country arming with expedition at the same time that an insult was offered to the British Flag, without taking the proper steps to protect his subjects and maintain the Honor of his Crown. Mons. de Montmorin denied that Spain was arming extraordinarily, and said that She had only prepared her usual Evolution Squadron of six ships for the Mediteranean and that indeed, if she had determined upon arming now, it must be in consequence of our fitting out twelve Ships for the Baltic besides others for the Mediteranean. To this I did not reply but having repeated the wish of my Court for a happy arrangement of matters I took leave of Monsr. de Montmorin, fully convinced within myself that the measures adopted in England had deeply affected that Minister not to say given him serious alarm.

I have endeavoured, My Lord, as far as in me lies, to conform to the latter part of your Grace's Dispatch likewise and to obtain every material intelligence possible for His Majesty's information.— The short Space of time which has elapsed since I am honored with your Grace's Communication of this affair has not yet supplied me with much useful remark as to the motions and proceedings of Foreign Powers in general or with the means of forming a true notion of those of Spain, further than what I can judge from the words of the Ambassador from that Court here, who, not many days ago, pretended to say *that all was settled*, directed most probably by his Court to say so and from which it may be inferred that at the date of his letters, the Court of Spain persevered in its extraordinary claims and in the idea that sufficient satisfaction was given to Great Britain.

With regard to this Country, My Lord, the conjectures which have been founded respecting these differences are innumerable. I have heard the opinion of men of both Parties and all seem to agree that France must arm likewise, altho' they differ in their motives for arming. The aristocratical Party, or what is called the Minority, pretend that it is incumbent on the Head of the

Bourbon Family to protect the Spanish Branch and to be faithful to the Compact and close alliance of the two Crowns, but in this, My Lord, they have other views than those of fidelity to Treaty, and the glimmering hopes of a Counter-Revolution, I do conceive, to be again raised within them ; they see the necessity there will be of investing the King with some degree of power and hope themselves to gain strength from the reflecting rays. They pretend that we have sought the cause of quarrel with the Spaniards in the hopes of involving France in a war and thereby making to ourselves a pretext to fall upon the French Colonies and dismember their enfeebled Empire. In short, I do believe that from despair they wish for war, and in that case, no calumny, no false representation of facts, no artifice will be left untried to bring about a favorable change in the people and exasperate them against their Leaders and the British Nation which is the source, as they pretend to say, of all their evils and the chief fomenter, by the means of money, of the late Revolution.

The popular Party or the Majority think differently, and altho' they do not exculpate us altogether they throw the chief blame on the Spaniards. They conceive what has happened to be a deep laid scheme conceived long ago but only lately executed for want of opportunity. They imagine that it is through the intrigues of the Minority at the Court of Spain that that Country has been induced to seek a war with England, and, by involving France, bring about a Counter-Revolution and reinstate the King in all his Power ; but against this they say that they are aware England is arming, and without further argument it becomes, they say, necessary that France should arm likewise, but not in the view to take an active part with Spain, which they consider as an adversary to the cause of liberty, but to protect their own possessions against any concealed designs on our part and even against the Spaniards themselves whom they suspect may be tempted in the course of time, if the possibility exists, to reinstate the King in the plenitude of his power by force of arms.

The dispositions of the people, My Lord, I may be safely

allowed to assure your Grace, correspond much with those of their Leaders and are even more favorable to us ; they seem entirely to exculpate England and to load Spain with reproach whose designs they also suspect to be of a most evil tendency to their new favorite constitution. They say that our exertions are favourable to commerce, that the cause is a common cause and they admire the spirit with which we oppose the Spanish Monopoly of the South Sea trade and of the great western coasts of the new World.

Such, My Lord, are the various ideas which agitate the minds of all here at present but, until M. de Montmorin makes his communication to the National Assembly which, it is said, he will do this day, I can not say what turn matters will there take altho' I can beforehand assure your Grace that the Ministers, except M. Necker, all impressed with notions which they judge wise altho' they badly succeed in concealing, are exerting their utmost to gain votes in the Assembly in support of the Family Compact which the Popular Party treats with contempt and is on the other hand equally exerting its utmost to oppose. In plainer terms, My Lord, the Ministers join with the Minority in a wish to take an active part with Spain if matters come to extremities, while the Majority are for remaining spectators and only arm from precaution and prudence sake.

I am just informed, My Lord, that Mons. de Montmorin has made his communication to the President of the Assembly in writing, from which it appears that orders have been already sent for equipping 14 Sail of the Line in the Ports of Toulon and Brest, and that he intreats the Assembly in the name of the King to take into Consideration the most expeditious and effectual means to provide the Admiralty with the necessary supplies.

The Minister's Letter is to be taken into deliberation to-morrow when, it is rumored, a great constitutional question will be previously agitated viz, whether the King is to be invested with the power of making war without consulting the National Assembly.

I shall conclude this Dispatch, My Lord, with referring this,

your Grace, to the Papers which I send for the circumstantial accounts of the serious disturbances which have taken place at *Marseille*, *Toulon*, and *Nismes*, of the two former of which Mons. de St. Priest has given official communication to the Assembly.

14. Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds. 16 May 1790.

After some conversation which I had this morning with His Excellency, Mr. Fitz-Herbert, we agreed on the propriety of dispatching a Messenger Extraordinary to your Grace with the account of the important Resolution of the National Assembly yesterday.

In my last, My Lord, I had the honor to acquaint your Grace that all here agreed in the necessity of arming altho' I conceived that their motives, for so doing, differed widely.

Mons. de Montmorin's Letter which I mentioned had been read on Friday in the Assembly was taken early into discussion yesterday morning. The *Duc de Biron* first spoke and was strongly of opinion that all assistance should be granted to His Majesty in respect to the object of his demand.

Mons. de Lameth next rose and declared that the Minister's Letter ought not to be taken into consideration until such time as the great constitutional question, viz, to whom the right of making peace and war belonged, was determined, and proposed, that the Assembly should declare whether the King should be invested with that prerogative. Messrs. *Barnave*, *d'Aiguillon*, *Rewbel and Menon* supported his motion but *Mons. de Mirabeau* combatted it with much energy and voted for supplies and succour to His Majesty in the present circumstance, as did also *Mons. Chapellier* in a very able manner.

I have mentioned these names, My Lord, with a view to observe to your Grace that they are the chief Leaders of the popular Party and to shew how much they were divided upon this important Measure to which, by the bye, scarcely one of the aristocratical Party (the minority) spoke, and this I presume to be the consequence of ministerial Policy, as the Ministers were well aware

that the Address would pass without their voice which, from the envenomed hatred that subsists between the two Parties, would have rather injured the cause than assisted it. After a Debate of three hours the National Assembly decreed "Que le President se retirera dans le jour par-devers le Roi pour le remercier des Mesures qu'il a prises pour le maintien de la Paix. Decrete en outre que demain 16 May il sera mis aux voix cette Question constitutionelle, La Nation doit elle déléguer au Roi l'Exercise du Droit de la paix et de la Guerre."

In the two Nos. of the *Journal des Debats et Decrets* which I send your Grace herewith, and on the authenticity of which you may depend, as it is published by authority of the National Assembly, your Grace will see in No. 1 page 8, the Minister's Letter; and your Grace may also observe that, at the close of the reading *Mons. de Lameth*, having asked permission to speak, he was told by the President that there were the names of twenty Members on the list for speaking already, upon which, he shrewdly remarked that it was very strange that even before the Letter had been read in the Assembly that there should exist a list of Members who were to speak on it, as if it was possible that they should have had cognizance of the Letter without having had previous intercourse with the Ministers. This circumstance, My Lord, corroborates what I hinted at in my last, that the Ministers were exerting their utmost in canvassing votes in favor of the Address, but beyond this, altho' they have succeeded in the present instance, I still firmly believe they can not go, and that altho' the armament is permitted from motives of prudence yet, if matters come to extremities with Spain the Family Compact will be set aside and the Country will remain a silent tho' cautious spectator. Nor indeed in the Debates on the Letter which your Grace will see an account of in No, 2. page 12 of the *Journal etc.* does it appear that any other idea exists further than that of arming for security's sake and by no means that of taking an active part in the war; on the contrary, a jealous suspicion of the views of the Cabinet prevails throughout. I think it important to observe here, My Lord, that the most peaceable dispositions are evident on the part

of the People and that a war is what they most dislike the thoughts of as the advantages which they are to derive from trade under a full Government is the favorite object of their fancy at this moment.

From the conversation which I have had with a Spanish Gentleman of much integrity and merit here, My Lord, and who is in the way of corresponding much with his country-men, I could only remark the most anxious hope of an amicable adjustment of matters and the certainty on his part of Spain's listening with readiness to honorable terms provided we did not exact too much, and he seemed to think that it all depended on England if it really was not her view to crush Spain at a moment when France was out of the power of lending any assistance.

This idea with respect to France, My Lord, is a most general one and I do really believe that they can not effectuate an ornament here as ready money is a commodity which has vanished almost totally with confidence, and it can not be reasonably presumed that in the present distracted state of the Nation that the rumour of a war will revise lost credit. Besides it is well known that the Army and Navy are but extremely ill-paid, altho' the greater part of the ready money which Government can possibly collect is immediately distributed between them.

Before I conclude this Dispatch, My Lord, I think it necessary to refer your Grace to the Debate which relates to that part of M. de Montmorin's Letter in which the King promises to use all means within his power to bring about a happy reconciliation between the Courts of London and Madrid and there your Grace will see the unfavorable light in which *Mons. de la Vauguyon*, the French Ambassador at Madrid, is held by *Mons. de Lameth* and consequently by a very considerable part of the Assembly by whom the consequences of that Ambassador's negotiation are, beforehand, regarded with an evil eye, it being strongly presumed by them that Mons. de la Vaujuyon will not possess very conciliating Powers in an affair which he is suspected to have had a principal share in.—These suspicions well or ill founded convince me still further of the sincere desire of the Popular Party that a war should

not take place between England and Spain from the idea that two such powerful and neighbouring Nations in Arms might threaten their new born liberty. It was strongly asserted a day or two ago that *Monsr. de la Vaujuyon* was recalled from Spain but how true this may be I can not possitively say.

These My Lord, are all the ideas which have come within my narrow judgement so far, but I shall lose no moment or opportunity in collecting every material intelligence possible for His Majesty's information.

It seems, my Lord, from the business of the day, which is given in the evening paper that I send herewith, that nothing has been determined upon the great constitutional question above mentioned, but your Grace may depend upon it that that prerogative is lost to the Crown.

P.S. I am just assured that it is beyond a doubt that M. de la Vauguyon is recalled from Spain and that *Mons. de Bourgoing* now french Minister at Hamburgh is to be sent to Spain *ad interim* with the Character of Minister Plenipotentiary.

15. Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds. 22 May 1790.

After a Debate which lasted from 10 o'clock in the forenoon till six in the evening, the great Constitutional Question concerning the power of making peace and war was decided this day, and *Monsr. de Mirabeau's* Project of Decree which Your Grace may have taken notice of in the *Gazette Nationale* of yesterday was adopted with a few amendments, as it is given at length in the evening paper which I send herewith.

Your Grace will observe in the same paper that *Mons. de Mirabeau's* Decree is combatted on the one hand by *Mons. de Lameth*, a young man of talents and violent republican principles, on the grounds of its granting too much to the Executive Power and on the other hand by *Mons. de Cazales* a man of talents likewise, but of very different principles, as giving all to the Legislative Power, which proves that Monsr. de Mirabeau has preserved that medium which was agreable to neither of the two Parties which

are in extremes altho' it was carried by the balance thrown between them by the moderate Party and was adopted only as an alternative by both.—

Your Grace may also observe that Mons. de Mirabeau takes notice of the report, which has gained so universally, of his having been bought over by the Court, and of the scission which has taken place in the popular side of the House on this question. He knew, he said, that the distance from the Capitol to the Tarpeian Rock was not great. Two days ago, he said, he might, if he had pleased, have been carried about in triumph; now a difference of opinion has spread the cry of corruption throughout the Metropolis, but he knew it well, he knew that that man who did his duty and followed the dictates of his reason could expect justice only from time.

But on the whole of this affair, My Lord, I hope to have it in my power to make some useful remarks when I have next the honor of writing to Your Grace; at present I am loath to keep the messenger longer and shall therefore conclude this Dispatch.

16. Fitz-Gerald to the Duke of Leeds.
28 May 1790.

In my Dispatch No. 31 I informed Your Grace that I had reason to believe that the then pending decree, relative to the right of making peace and war, would be followed up with another in opposition to the Family Compact and declaratory of the conduct which France would observe in the present dispute between England and Spain, but the only motion which seems to have had such a tendency was made this week by Mons. de Mirabeau, namely, for the appointment of a select Committee to revise the different Treaties now subsisting between this Kingdom and other Powers with the view that such as contained stipulations favorable to the political interests of France might be sanctioned by the National Assembly.

But this Motion, which had for its principal object the Family Compact, was thought to have been of too alarming a nature to be

attended to in the present circumstances ; the National Assembly therefore in order to avoid the necessity of a formal profession of neutrality, on the present occasion, got rid of it by the previous question.

With respect to the late Decree above mentioned, the decision of that question had, as I formerly acquainted your Grace, become an object of general anxiety and expectation and the last day that it was in discussion the Gardens of the Thuilleries and all the avenues to the Assembly thronged with people. The first article of the Decree had no sooner passed than they were informed that they had obtained a complete victory over the Court and the air was immediately filled with shouts of applause and clapping of hands. At the close of the Decree, when the Assembly broke up, the principal popular Members such as *Messrs. de Lameth, Merion d'Aiguillon, and Barnave* were conducted by them under the windows of the royal apartments of the Palace in the midst of the most indecent and insulting shouts of joy, and *Mons. Barnave* was carried about in triumph by the people who imagined that it was his Decree that had passed, but, later in the evening, they were undeceived and *Monsr. de Mirabeau* together with *Monsr. de la Fayette* who supported him were loudly accused as being traitors to the cause of the People, who, the next day, becoming extremely clamorous and restless committed many excesses. The not wearing the National Cockade became a capital crime with them, and on Tuesday last a young man narrowly escaped with his life from their fury for having, it is said, trampled a Cockade under foot. The Chatelet has likewise become again offensive to them ; it has long ago, as I acquainted your Grace, been suspected of anti-patriotic principles and the People, I do believe, only seek an opportunity of demolishing it ; the moment was thought favourable and they actually assembled in great crowds on Wednesday last for that purpose and in the intention, it is said, of putting the prisoners there confined, to death with their own hands, but the Martial Law having been proclaimed and the militia having shewn firmness, they were dispersed and matters have remained quiet since. The Populace however on that day

and the day before exercised their wonted cruelty on the persons of four young men whom they detected in stealing; the fact was very clear, but the People judged proper to hang them up at once without the least form of trial and a fifth man who was also caught in theft would have shared the same fate had not *Mons. de la Fayette* courageously interfered in person and with his own hand seized upon the murderer in the name of the Law and conducted him to prison. These troubles, it is said, were chiefly fomented by Monsr. de Lameth, with the view to render Mons. de La Fayette still more unpopular than his late support of Mons. de Mirabeau's Decree had occasioned, to disgrace him if possible also and to raise himself to the Chief Command of the National Militia in his room by the voice of the corrupted multitude; but Mons. de Lameth has formally denied having ever entertained such pretensions and has possitively declared, in a Letter which he has written to Mons. de la Fayette, that he by no means coveted a place which he fills with so much merit and as a proof of the calumny which has been spread that he would not accept of the place was it even offered to him.—

But this has not quieted the alarms of the town in general which has the greatest confidence in Mons. de La Fayette and dreads the most serious consequences if another person than himself should have the chief command, and indeed, My Lord, to do him justice, I do consider him to be the most proper, perhaps the only person, who is able to govern the people of Paris in their present turbulent disposition of temper.

As I said above, matters are again restored to order and the clamours against Mons. de La Fayette have in a great measure ceased, altho' his popularity must be necessarily impaired by the favor he is supposed to have got into with the adverse Party since the late scission in the popular side of the Assembly has taken place...

17. Fitz-gerald to the Duke of Leeds. 4 June 1790.

As M. Necker's Discourse on the Finances, which he read some days ago in the National Assembly, is become a principal topic of

momentary conversation, I shall commence this Dispatch with giving your Grace an outline sketch of it previous to your perusal of the *Memoire* at large which I have the honor to transmit herewith. It appears from that Minister's account that there will remain in the Treasury the last day of this year a surplus of 11 millions 400 thousand Livres, but this is founded on the supposition that the Taxes will be levied without further opposition or delay and that the different reforms proposed will be carried into immediate execution. The Minister supposes that the receipts of every description for the last eight months of the present year will amount to 656 millions 625 thousand Livres and the disbursements for ordinaries and extraordinaries to 645 millions 210 thousand Livres, but this view, it may be again observed, is not only exposed to the common chapter of accidents but subject to all those variations which necessarily arise from a disordered state of things. M. Necker, who of late seemed to have been lost in oblivion, thought proper on this occasion, in order to rally the Nation to the grateful recollection of his services, to congratulate the Assembly on the growing confidence which the *Assignats* seemed daily to acquire and doubted not but that they would hear with real satisfaction that the number already in circulation in the Provinces amounted to 45 millions, that they were universally called for and that the Treasurer *de l'Extraordinaire* was not able to satisfy the multiplied demands that were daily made upon him. Their number will be 1,200,000 of different values, viz, of 1000, 300 and 200 Livres and their total value is limited to 400 millions, the amount of that portion of Church Property which the National Assembly has resolved to dispose of for the present.

But it may be reasonably supposed that Government will not be content with issuing *Assignats* to the amount of 400 Millions, the present attempt may be considered as an experiment only and as soon as the present paper is absorbed in circulation the same expedient will be resorted to when the circulation becoming overcharged, it may very probably stagnate and destroy itself. I shall conclude this Article with observing to your Grace that the

Municipality of Marseille has followed the example of Bordeaux by publishing a Proclamation offering to give ready money for *Assignats* to all tradesmen and manufacturers of the City who shall stand in need of such relief.

Mons. Necker has obtained another vote of the Assembly for 20 Millions of which 14 are to be applied to the services of the Navy.

The following is, I have reason to believe, my Lord, an authentic list of the ships ordered into readiness at Brest. Nine Ships of the Line, viz. Le Majestueux of 110 Guns. Les deux Frères of 80, L'Auguste 80, L'Americain 74, Le Dugné Tronin 74, La Ferme 75, Le Patriote 74, Le Superbe 74, Le Temeraire 74, and ten Frigates viz, La Cibelle, La Proserpine, La Fidelle, La Réunion, La Danaé, La Fine, La Bellone, La Surveillante, L'Attalante and L'Amphytrite besides nine other lower rate Vessels. I can not speak precisely as to Toulon, but I understand that Mons. Albert de Rioms is to hoist his flag there on board the *Victorieux* of 110 Guns and that he is to have the command of the Fleet of 14 Ships of the Line now arming.

It is also rumoured here, My Lord, but how true I can not pretend to say, that orders have been sent to the various Ports of this Kingdom to hold other 42 Ships of the Line in readiness to be armed at the first notice. I have good authority for assuring your Grace that three experienced Naval Captains, who are here, declined lending their services and refused going down to Brest to take command of the Ships destined for them there on pretext that they were at a loss to know to whom they were to be responsible for their conduct; this was merely the ostensible reason but the real cause of their refusal may be easily traced in that disgust which prevails so generally among the French Nobility of which denomination all officers of any rank may be reckoned, as well in the Navy as in the Army.

The same thurst for war still prevails here among the fallen Nobility and Clergy as well as His Most Christian Majesty's Ministers, notwithstanding the assurances of these last to the contrary and, if I may judge from appearances, I should conceive that

Her Most Christian Majesty joined in the same wish. Her Majesty's marked attention of late to the Spanish Ambassador and her very affable manner in conversation with him at her Majesty's last public Card Party attracted the notice of many people present and was even blamed as being very indiscrete at a moment when so many watchful and suspicious eyes were upon her, but supposing this to be the case it by no means follows that war is nearer at hand for as I have before repeated, the majority of the Assembly and the Nation is much against it, altho' I will confess that I am much come off from the idea which I had entertained of justice being done to England, with respect to her present differences with Spain, by the popular side of the National Assembly and I was not a little surprised some days ago to hear Mons. de La Fayette tell me he believed that we had sought the cause of quarrel in the intention to interrupt the French Revolution by involving France in the contest and to dismember, at the same time, the Spanish Empire by rousing and assisting Spanish America to throw off the yoke. In the first instance he said we should never succeed as the Spirit of Liberty was grafted in the heart of every French peasant in the Kingdom, and in the second he thought that our attempts were premature, but that, if we would wait for a more favourable opportunity, France would assist us in our laudable endeavours for that it was the sincere wish of this Country to see a similar Revolution to the present one take place all over the World and the National Cockade universally worn. However extravagant this may be I conceived it not to be amiss to give your Grace an idea of the principles entertained by a principal character in the present Revolution, and to shew how much further he carries his republican doctrines, he did not scruple to assure me that he saw with regret the necessity that existed in this Country's being a Monarchy but that he hoped it might be a most limited one, that he did not despair of seeing a still more perfect equality take place among men and that the only means to bring that about was an impartial division of landed property which must, he added, some day or other take place and that until it happened, all would not be complete.

The affairs of the Clergy have again come before the Assembly and the spirit of reformation has been pushed so far that one member proposed the abolition of Metropolitan Sees ; they will however be preserved but neither their number nor their situation has yet been determined upon. The number of Suffregan Bishops will be equal to that of the Departments, viz, 83 ; and the extent likewise of a Diocese will be commensurate with a Department. The Assembly has passed a prohibitory Decree which forbids the French Church, any Parish or Citizen to acknowledge any foreign spiritual jurisdiction, without inquiry nevertheless, that union which will continue to subsist between them and the visible head of the Church in such manner as they shall hereafter think proper to decree.

Yesterday being the anniversary of the *Fête Dieu* their most Christian Majesties and the Royal Family, after hearing mass, walked in the Procession through several streets of the City. They were accompanied by the greater part of the Members of the National Assembly and a considerable body of the Garde Nationale, Horse and Foot. This novel sight at Paris, attracted a numerous crowd of spectators but no accident occurred and all was conducted with much good order. And this morning their Majesties have set out for St. Cloud where the Court will reside till Sunday. During the residence of their Majesties at St. Cloud, they will come to Paris on Sundays only, which are to be Levee Days. This excursion to St. Cloud will, it is said, be soon followed by others to Rambouillet and Fontainebleau and what is worthy of remark the people of Paris have not discovered any symptoms of uneasiness or suspicion on account of His Majesty's absence.

The Court is escorted by the *Garde National Parisienne*....

18. FITZ-GERALD TO THE DUKE OF LEEDS.
18 June 1790.

Owing to the hurry and inconvenience necessarily attending Earl Gower's first arrival at Paris, His Excellency has not yet had it in his power to turn his attention to public business or to form

an accurate view of the state of matters as they stand here at present. I am therefore, at his Excellency's desire, to trouble your Grace once more with a few observations of my own and a statement of those facts which have occurred since I had last the honor of writing to your Grace on similar Matters.

The few remarks which I shall present your Grace with are such as are visible to every person in the habit of observation here but which, nevertheless, are of some importance in the present critical situation of affairs. The visible change which has by degrees taken place in the minds of people here respecting the part to be held by France, if a war should unhappily take place between Great Britain and Spain, is what I chiefly allude to, for it is evident that that moderation which distinguished the Majority of opinions here six weeks ago no more exists but has made way to new ideas of national honor and gratitude which both, it is now said, call for the support of France, if Spain should stand in need of her assistance. It must not however be understood from this that war is a measure sought for or desired, for if I except some of the Members of the Cabinet and the major part of the Nobility and clergy, the Nation at large is averse to the idea, but only that such a measure is more generally relished at present than it was at the first accounts of our differences with Spain when, not only the Family Compact was to be set aside in the opinions of the Majority, but all ideas of National grandeur, beyond what was to be acquired by trade and commerce, were to be relinquished as being vain and beneath the consideration of a Nation naturally so great and now free. This change of sentiment can be only ascribed to that influence which I assured your Grace on a former occasion the Cabinet was daily gaining in the National Assembly and to the known sentiments of Monsr. de La Fayette which have the greatest weight with the People and which are by no means inimical to Ministerial Measures; but however great the Divisions in the popular side of the Assembly and however formidable the new acquired influence of the Court may be, there is still strength sufficient with the violent republican Party, of which *Messrs. de Lameth, de Noailles* and others are at the head, and integrity perhaps

enough among *Messrs. de La Fayette* and *Mirabeau*'s followers, to resist the tide of ministerial influence where it becomes too rapid and to check it on such occasions where the possibility exists of its becoming dangerous, and that much implicit confidence is not yet reposed in the Ministers, sufficiently appears from the late vote of the National Assembly where, Mr. Malonet, Reporter of the Naval Committee, having stated that the strict annual expence of the Fleet which has been voted, namely 14 Ships of the Line and 14 Frigates etc. would amount to 13,850,000 Livres and having moved for two millions per month, it was resolved that three millions only should be granted for two months.

With respect to any interesting matter in the National Assembly, My Lord, this week affords us with little more than the continuation of the ecclesiastical reforms such as the respective annual stipends of the secular Clergy and the nature of the qualifications which a minister ought to possess in order to be eligible either to a vacant Rectory or Bishoprick and your Grace no doubt will read with surprise that the Archbishop of Paris is reduced by these Regulations to the frugal pittance of 50,000 Livres per annum, all other Archbishops to 20,000 and Bishops to 12,000 only. In order to be qualified for a Bishoprick, a Priest must have performed Spiritual Function for 15 years. Each Bishop is to name his Vicars, who are to be his Council in the administration of the Diocese and these Vicars are to supply the place of the suppressed Canons and Prebends. In order to be elected Episcopal Vicar one must have officiated for 10 years as Priest and in order to be elected Priest it will be necessary to have officiated as parochial Vicar for 5 years. It may be observed also that the Pope will not in future receive any pecuniary favors from the Gallican Church.

I shall conclude this very uninteresting Dispatch with mention only of the Vicomte de Mirabeau who, having obtained leave of absence from the National Assembly to join his Regiment in Garrison at Perpignan, has lately been exposed to the fury of the mob there and the disaffected part of his Regt. It appears from letters read in the Assembly that that gentleman in consequence of

the turbulent spirit of his Regiment had quitted Perpignan and had taken with him a part of the Colours of which in his opinion the Regiment had rendered itself unworthy.

He has been made prisoner on his road to Paris by the Garde Nationale of *Castelnaudary* but will be soon set at liberty in consequence of the interference of the National Assembly. The evening paper which accompanies this Dispatch, My Lord, contains the particulars of this affair and takes notice of the Revolution which has taken place at Avignon which, it seems, has withdrawn its allegiance from the Court of Rome. By the same paper likewise it appears that M. Necker has applied to the Assembly this morning for a fresh vote of 30 millions by way of Loan on the *Caisse d'Escompte*.

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